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HENRY V AND THE CONQUEST OF FRANCE 1416-53



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ARMY OF HENRY V

AND THE CONQUEST OF FRANCE, 1416-1453



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MILITARY

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Dedication

To my mother for putting me through university.

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Publisher's note

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Editor's note

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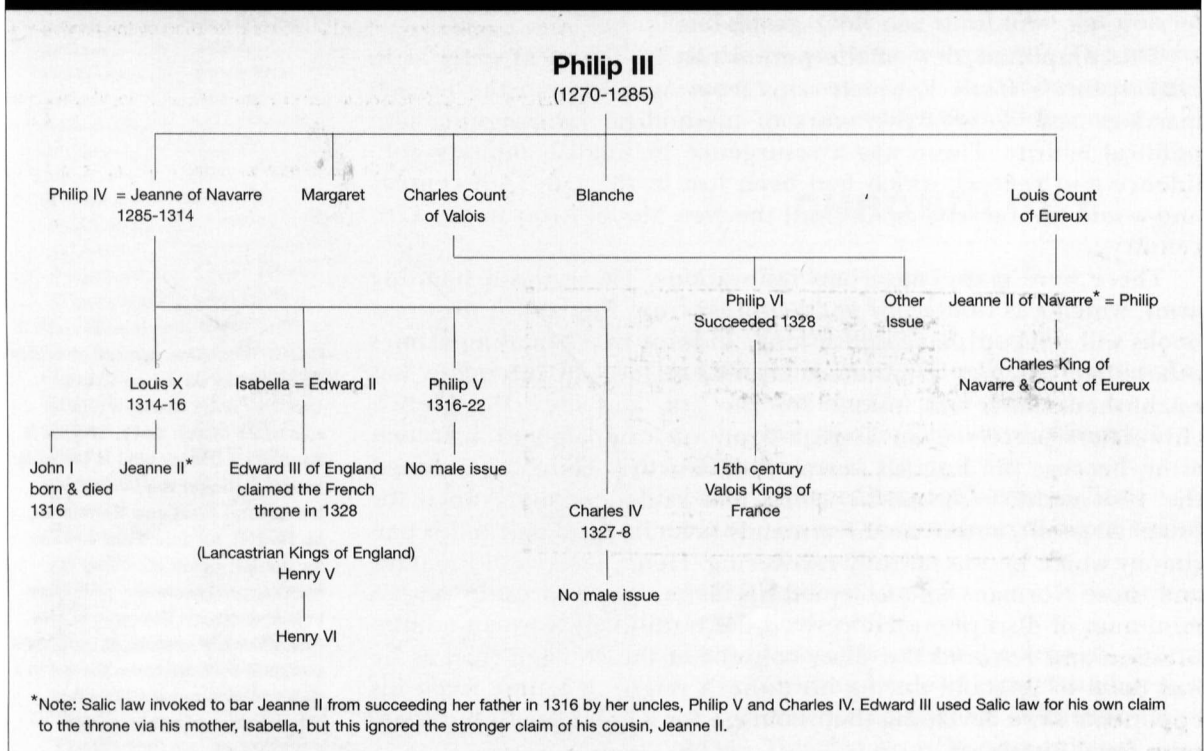
ARMY OF HENRY V AND THE CONQUEST OF FRANCE, 1416-1453

INTRODUCTION

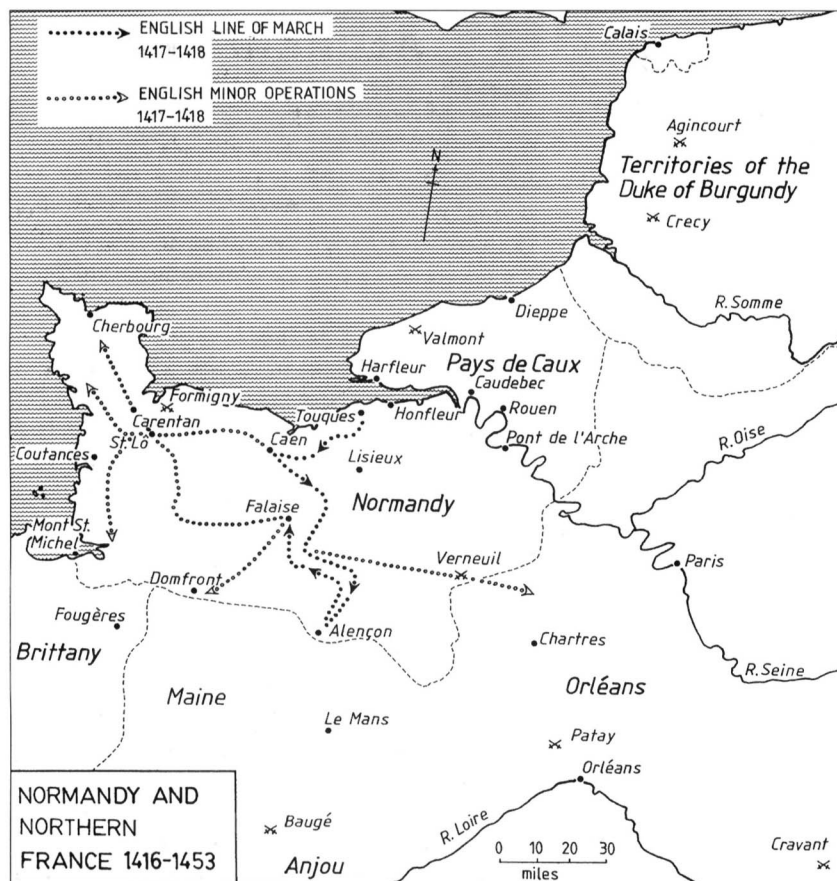
Genealogy of the House of Lancaster and Valois. Salic Law was used by Philip V and Charles IV to bar Jeanne II's succession after 1316. The English claim was through a female line, Isabella queen of Edward II, but ignored the stronger female claimant Jeanne II. Ironically, the Navarrese were allies of Edward III.

Many accounts dwell on the events of 1415 to such an extent that the reader could be forgiven for thinking that Agincourt led directly to the Treaty of Troyes and the marriage of Henry V to Catherine of Valois. From this union came Henry VI of England and II of France, born just months before his father and maternal grandfather died, who inherited two of the greatest crowns in Christendom. Henry VI was mentally unstable and temperamentally unsuitable for the duties of kingship. His disinterest contributed to the loss of Normandy, and also that of Gascony – in that second great battle of the period, Castillon, in 1453. The political repercussions and the influx of unemployed soldiers from France led to the Wars of the Roses, which dominated English politics for the remainder of the century.

Genealogy of the House of Lancaster & Valois



**Normandy and Northern France
1416-1453. (David Nicolle)**



This simplified view of the period can be found as early as in Shakespeare's *Henry V*, which skips from Agincourt to the French marriage and ignores five years of methodical campaigning and political activity. There was a resurgence in English military confidence and success, which had been lost in the late 14th century and would not be seen again until the New Model Army in the 17th century.

There were many important innovations. There was a standing army, which was funded by and supplied from England. (Most text books will tell you that English kings did not have standing armies other than in a few frontier garrisons.) A level of discipline was established which was unique for the era, and even the French chroniclers preferred an English army on campaign to a French army, because the English were less destructive. Henry abandoned the 14th century *chevauchée* which had raided across France for financial profit, and treated Normandy as an integral part of his patrimony which he was lawfully recovering. Henry offered Normandy, and those Normans who accepted his claim, 'good lordship' with a minimum of disruption. He revived the traditional Norman administration and restored the silver content of the coinage (just as he had done in England during his father's reign) at a time when his opponents were devaluing their coinage for a quick profit but long-term fiscal instability.

RIGHT 'Les gens d'armes et archers de la retinue de Jehan Cressy Chlr'. Sir John Cressy's muster role of 26 March 1441. The list is headed by Cressy who is the only knight amongst the *lances* and includes at least one Welshman, ap Howell. All Johns are written as 'Jehan' which obscures the number of Frenchmen who were in the company. Documents like this allow the careers of individual common soldiers to be traced in a way which is not possible for other medieval armies. (PRO E101/53/33)

BACKGROUND

On 29 October 1415 an English army under Henry V caught its first sight of Calais, signifying the end of a campaign which had begun amid euphoria but had quickly calmed down when the realities of war were met. This had happened outside the walls of Harfleur, which had been besieged for five weeks. The low-lying marshland bred disease which decimated the army. When Harfleur surrendered, on 8 October, the depleted English army left Harfleur for Calais, eight days away.

The march, like the siege, failed to go according to schedule when the French blocked the Somme crossings. A desperate inland march began, until the English were able to steal a march and crossed the Somme. By then a huge French army had been assembled, and blocked the path of the English army between the villages of Agincourt and Tramecourt.

The events of 25 October 1415 have been quite justifiably recorded in English military history. The irony of Agincourt was that it inspired the English to more French conquests. Had Henry V reached Calais unmolested, then the 1415 campaign would have been a massive anti-climax. Only one small town was won for all the life and money expended. The massive support necessary for the subsequent campaigns may never have been forthcoming.

CHRONOLOGY

- 1415 Battle of Agincourt
- 1416 Battle of Valmont
- 1417 Henry V lands at Touques
- 1419 John, Duke of Burgundy, murdered at Montreau by the Dauphin; Burgundian alliance with England
- 1420 Treaty of Troyes
- 1421 Battle of Baugé; Clarence killed
- 1422 Henry VI born; Henry V dies; Charles VI dies
- 1423 Battle of Cravant
- 1424 Battle of Verneuil
- 1429 Joan of Arc raises the siege of Orléans; battle of Patay; Dauphin crowned Charles VII at Rheims
- 1435 Treaty of Arras: Burgundy joins

William.	Essex
Les gens d'armes et Archers de la	
Reine de Jehan Cressy. Chlo	
Jehan.	
Jehan.	Cressy Chlo.
Jehan.	malder
Jehan.	princepsore.
Jehan.	Staveler.
Jehan.	Venables.
William.	Embitt
Jehan.	Croke
Jehan.	up howell
Jehan.	Curme
Jehan.	Blakbourne
Jehan.	papeler.
Jehan.	Essex
Jehan.	Kidell
Thomas.	Calant
William.	Cressy
Jehan.	Walsh
Jehan.	Stark
Jehan.	Harmonde
William.	Campton
Archers.	
Jehan.	of the hall
Jehan.	Prison
Robert.	Proper
William.	Alton
Robert.	Bray
Jehan.	Ball
Jehan.	Walshoman.
Jehan.	Eleve
William.	porter.
Jehan.	Benet.
Thomas.	Wilkins.
Jehan.	hilt.
Robert.	Umbrake.
Jehan.	Sevi.
Jehan.	Sevi. Hall.
Thomas.	Sevi. Hall.
Thomas.	Sevi. Hall.
Everget.	Miller.
William.	Offeller
William.	Baker
Jehan.	Whitman
Jehan.	of Blah.
Jehan.	Chalder.
Jehan.	William
Nicholas.	parker
James.	Juste.
Thomas.	Kidunke
Thomas.	Kede.
Robert.	Kede.
Walter.	Endeller
Simon.	parker
Thomas.	fiten.
William.	Chapman
Thomas.	Kermunde
William.	Archman
William.	Chapman

France against England; rebellion in the Caux

1444 Truce of Tours

1445 Henry VI marries Margaret of Anjou

1448 Maine surrendered to France

1449 Fougères captured; fighting begins in Normandy

1450 Battle of Formigny

1451 French capture Bordeaux

1452 Talbot recaptures Bordeaux

1453 Battle of Castillon; French recapture Bordeaux; end of the Hundred Years War; England now possesses just Calais.

HENRY V's ARMY

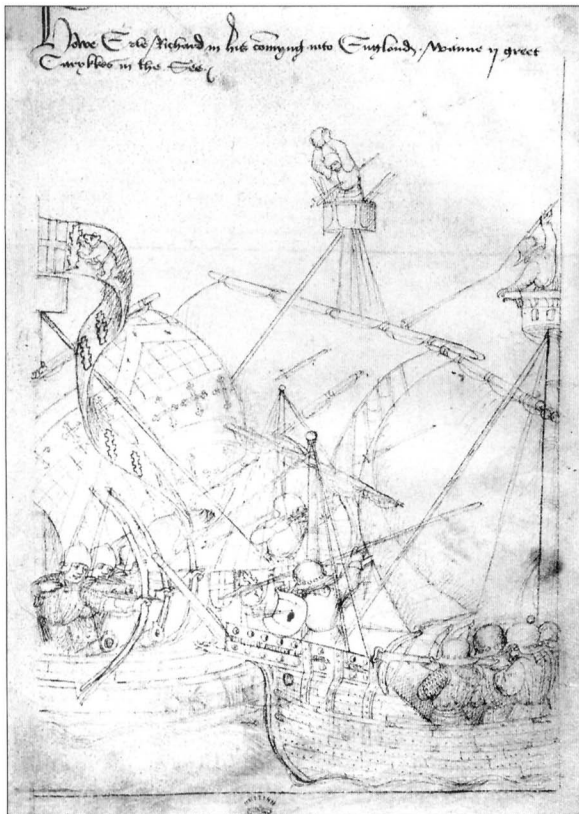
The English army of the early 15th century had two main types of soldier: the man-at-arms (referred to in Normandy as a *lance*) and the archer. Man-at-arms is a generic term which covers all 'knights', from the squires (although they were not technically knights) to the king. He could fight mounted (*lance à cheval*) or on foot (*lance à pied*). Archers could also be mounted or on foot.

The English traditionally dismounted to fight. Thomas, Duke of Clarence may have led a cavalry charge at Baugé in 1421, which would have been an exception to the rule. Some illustrations show archers shooting from horseback, but the English archer was a mounted archer rather than a horse archer in the Turkish sense. There are no accounts of engagements using horse archers; the English archers always dismounted to make their stand, even during a retreat, as at Valmont and Patay – see map of Patay on page 19 for a detailed description.

The English army initially adopted a ratio of 1:3 or 1:3.5 *lances* to archers, at least until the late 1420s. Thereafter there was a considerable variance in the companies. In the 1430s 1:4 to 1:6 was common, but ratios in excess of 1:10 are not unknown. The garrisons and personal retinues retained 1:3. The *creu*, *ban* and *arrière ban* were composed of whatever troops were available, so the troop ratio and size varied dramatically. The English navy retained 1:2.

The proportion of knights and nobles in the army declined after Henry V's early campaigns (except for when Henry VI travelled to France for his coronation in 1429). This was not due to disinterest but because they had commitments in England. As the war continued, the army became permanent and demanded professional soldiers. They were happy to serve for limited annual campaigns in the 14th century style, but not in the prolonged campaigning of the 15th century. Knights were also entitled to higher wages than an unknighthed *lance*, even though they performed the same military task, so it was cheaper not to employ knights. During the minority of Henry VI many of the nobles who had served with Henry V were required back at Westminster to participate in the day to day government of England, and consequently were unavailable for service in France.

The *lances* which developed under the *Ordonnances* in France (1445) and Burgundy (1471) established a team similar to a modern army section, with different troop types working together. In English field armies there is



Battle at Sea from the Warwick Pageant. Although these drawings were commissioned c. 1483 and show styles of that date, they depict events from the period covered. The middle-castle contains heavy darts (gads) to drop on the enemy. These naval battles were vital to secure safe supply routes to Normandy in the early 15th century. (British Library MS. Cotton Julius E IV F.18V)

no evidence of any close association between the *lances* and archers, especially as the companies were split up before battles to place the archers on the flanks. In the garrisons, however, there is some evidence that archers were actually assigned to individual *lances*.

Troop formations

There were five formations used by the English:

Personal retinues were led by major military and political figures like the Dukes of Bedford and York and John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury. They provided a bodyguard, escort and household servants as well as fighting troops. On campaign they were commanded by a lieutenant, as the captain would be commanding a larger formation. They probably constituted an elite formation, which is not surprising considering the standing of their captains. The size of the retinue was proportional to the duties of the captain. When Talbot received a general field command his retinue increased to 120:360 from Michaelmas 1441, but in 1448 his duties were limited to Lower Normandy and the retinue was reduced to 54:162.

Part of the retinue could be detached for specific tasks. Bedford's retinue was 100:300, but in 1424, for the siege of Gaillon, 15:45 were detached.

The **company** was similar to the personal retinue but smaller, less prestigious and temporary – usually serving for just six months. They were raised in England and formed the majority of the field armies which crossed to Normandy almost annually. Individual companies could be quite small: James Skidmore in 1440 was indentured to serve with himself as a *lance* and six archers. The 1417 army consisted of 2,221 *lances* and 7,794 archers under 83 captains (these figures exclude royal troops). This gives an average company size of 26:94 and a ratio of 1:3.5.

The **garrisons** were a permanent force in Normandy. The size of individual garrisons varied. In 1416 the Harfleur garrison was 300:900, but this was reduced to a total of 221 once the French threat had receded. When the conquest of Normandy was completed the whole garrison force stabilised at around 4,000 men in 23 major strongholds and many lesser positions. There were also many enfeoffed (private) garrisons.

Individual garrisons could be quite small: William Rothelane and eight men guarded the river Vire at Pont d'Ouvre. This was an outpost of Carentan, where in 1425 there was a garrison of 32 men. A mobile mounted force from Carentan could quickly reinforce or relieve smaller posts like Pont d'Ouvre in the event of an emergency. This avoided the need to provide large garrisons at each post. The garrison troops at the principal town of the seven *bailliages* of Normandy also reinforced the personnel retinue of the *bailli* (2:24). Garrisons could also provide troops for field armies, such as during the siege of Orléans. This was a dangerous expedient because following a defeat, as at Patay, the remaining garrisons were stretched dangerously thin. From December 1434 field companies

were permanently attached to certain garrisons to prevent this situation occurring.

The *creu* was a temporary body raised for emergencies, normally from ex-soldiers, either English or Norman. Following the defeat at Patay, *creus* were used to re-absorb the disorganised soldiers back into the military structure. Their composition was extremely varied. At the height of the threat to Caen in early 1436, Talbot raised at least 14 *creus* between 15 and 156 strong to supplement the garrison. The following year, at the recovery of Tancarville, a *creu* of 34:604 (a ratio of 1:17) was raised, and later another of 24:104 (a ratio of 1:4). *Creus* were also raised from the large pool of unemployed ex-soldiers. One of these was John de la Brossé who was recruited into a *creu* for the siege of Harfleur by Talbot in September 1440. He was later employed in Talbot's personal retinue, but left in March 1441. De la Brossé was again unemployed in May 1441, and was recruited by Talbot into another *creu*, then into Talbot's personal retinue again in August, and from there into the Rouen garrison, where Talbot was captain. On 30 October de la Brossé left the garrison. The *creus* could also be filled by men otherwise gainfully employed, like Watkin Goodkin (see page 10). One can speculate about recruiters visiting potential recruits in person and relying on friendship, patriotism or 'the good old days' to fill the *creu*.

The *ban* and *arrière ban* were ancient French feudal obligations for all able-bodied adult males to take up arms. They were called out in 1421 but not used. The racial and military compositions are unknown, but they probably resembled the *creu* but with a higher proportion of Normans.

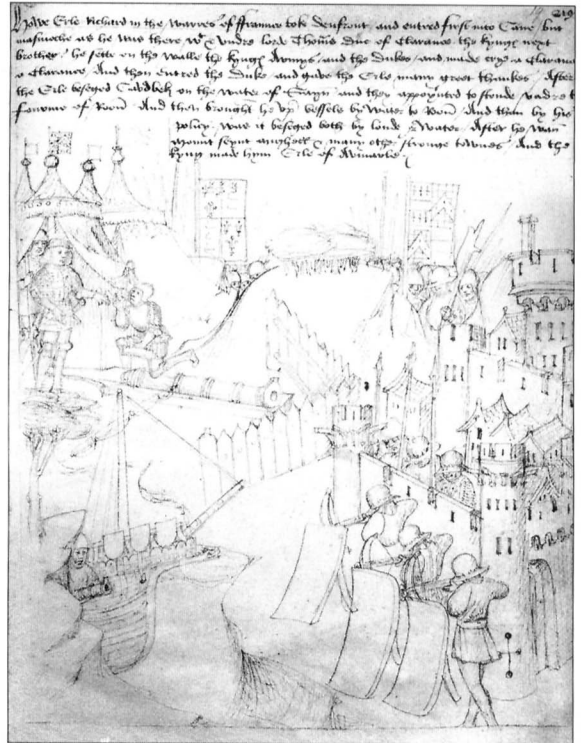
ORGANISATION

Indentures

The army was recruited into companies by indentures. Individual captains were contracted to the Crown to provide a number of troops under certain terms and conditions. The exact conditions varied over the period. Indentures specified the length of service, rates and times of payment, troop types and equipment required. For example, James Skidmore in 1440 was to serve:

"... as a man of arms with vj. [6] archers in his company, all on horsbak and wele chosen men, and likely personnes wele and sufficiently armed, horsed, and arrayed ev'ry man after his degree; that is to say, that the seid James Skidmore have hennis complete wt basnet or salade, with visor, spere, axe, swerd, and dagger; And all the seid archers specially to have good jakks of defence, salades, swerds and sheves of xl. [40] arwes atte least."

Pay started at 3d (threepence) per day for a foot archer and 6d (sixpence) per day if he was mounted. The mounted archer could earn £9



Siege of Caen 1417, showing supplies arriving by ship from England. The sack of Caen shocked contemporaries. (British Library MS. Cotton Julius E IV f.19)

2s 6d (nine pounds, two shillings and sixpence) per annum, which compared well with the £2–3 which a ploughman could expect.

Companies raised in England were usually contracted for six months – one campaigning season. The soldiers received a quarter's wages in advance. They were then contracted to appear at one of the south coast muster ports, such as Sandwich, where they were mustered in front of royal officials. These officials confirmed that the details of the indenture had been met and then released the second quarter's wages. For soldiers contracted for more than six months, their next pay day followed nine months later, after they had served the time for which they had been paid for and then served a further quarter.

Permanent bodies were also contracted with indentures. Usually these were for 12 months from Michaelmas. Pay was quarterly, but permanent troops serving with field armies were paid fortnightly. That pay was then deducted from their quarterly pay. They were paid by the *Chambre des Comptes* in Normandy rather than from England.

Crews were raised by indentures for a specific objective. They were disbanded once that objective was obtained. They were paid fortnightly directly from the treasury in France.

Recruitment

The army was composed entirely of volunteers. In fact, in 1421 Henry V called for more yeoman archers to get a better class of soldier.

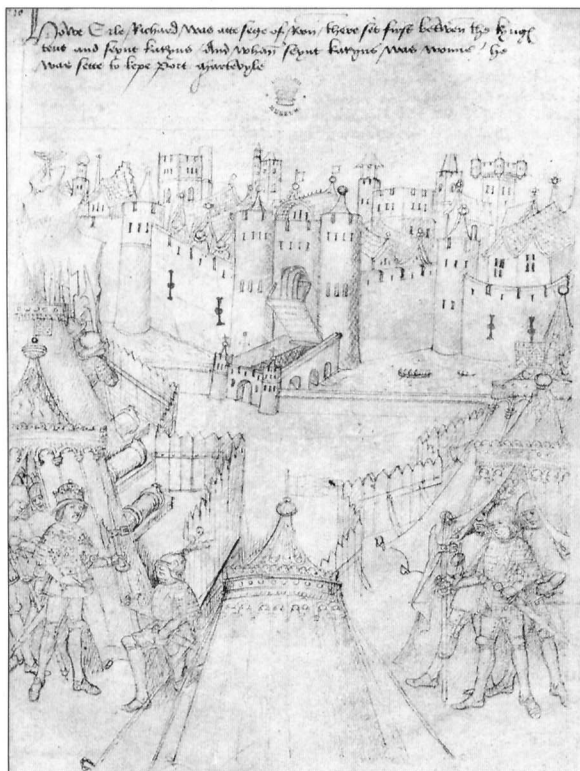
Studies of the men-at-arms (*lances*) in Talbot's companies and the Cheshire archers of Richard II (many of whom later served the Lancastrian kings) show the type of men employed and, to a lesser extent, gives an indication of the mechanics of recruitment.

The Lances¹

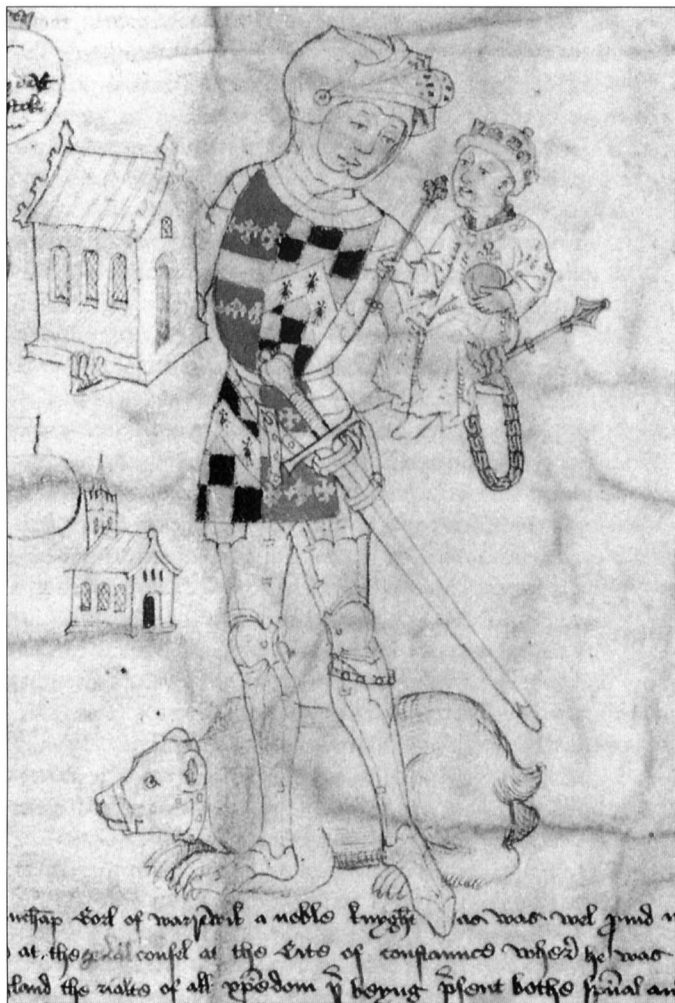
John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, first arrived in France in 1421 (Shakespeare incorrectly puts him at Agincourt), and he served almost continuously until his death at Castillon. A study of his companies shows how the mechanics of recruitment and the personnel changed over the years.

On 11 June 1421 Talbot mustered his company (18:66) at Sandwich. This company displayed all the characteristics of personal recruiting. Previously, 14 *lances* had served with Talbot, including Richard Lokkay, who had served with him in the Montgomery garrison in 1405. Eight of the *lances* had connections with Talbot's estates, including his widowed sister-in-law's manor of Blackemere. (The latter also provided four archers, and the estate records show that their arrows were provided by the estate.) In the 1428 muster roll only one name reappears – William Sutton – although there may be another two *lances* from Blackemere. The next surviving muster roll, in 1436, shows that eight names reappear from the

Siege of Rouen, 1418–19, with Henry V (left) and Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (right). The besieging army was again supplied by ships from England sailing up to the siegelines, which must have worsened the impact of starvation suffered by the inhabitants within the city walls. (British Library MS. Cotton Julius E IV)



¹ A. Pollard, *John Talbot and the War in France, 1427–1453* (London 1983)



Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, guardian of Henry VI. Compare this with figure 2 seen in Plate F. The requirements of Henry's minority government kept many nobles in England who would otherwise have fought in France, which explains the lack of nobles in France after 1422. (British Library ADD. MS. 48976 f.957)

1428 muster roll. A distinction can be made around 1428 between the amateur soldier who had personal connections with the captain and enlisted for a particular campaign, and the professional soldier based in France. This is not surprising, since Talbot spent most of his time in France and lost contact with his English estates.

One archetypal retainer appears: Thomas Everingham, who served Talbot in 1440-41. His son, also Thomas, was Talbot's lieutenant of Harfleur from 1443 until it was surrendered to the French, in 1450. Everingham carried the standard at Castillon and was killed as he placed it on the ramparts. This is the type of loyalty which was expected of retainers, in theory at least.

As the army became permanent it demanded soldiers who were prepared to make military service a career. Names reappear from different companies, like Nicholas Burdet, son of Sir Thomas Burdet, one of the Earl of Warwick's retainers. Nicholas Burdet served Talbot as lieutenant of Rouen in 1436.

Foreign names also began to appear. In 1439-41 half of Talbot's 46 *lances* had French names, and French-named archers also began to appear. In 1428 a lance Hans Duchesman appears, and in 1436 six archers were '*natifs du pays d'Italie*'.

Like the levies in England during the Wars of the Roses, *creus* were composed of whatever men were available – Frenchmen, the unemployed and ex-soldiers. These men appear both in civilian and military records. Watkin Goodkin, for example, was granted '*une maison en ruine*' in Harfleur in 1420. Grants of this type normally follow some military service. In 1425 he was a tavern keeper when his wife was killed in a brawl. In 1427 he appears as an archer during the siege of Pontorson, and he also married a Norman, Guillette Vernay. Goodkin does not appear to have served again.

Promotion provided another form of recruitment. Between 1439 and 1441 Edward Clyn, Lawrence Furness, Edward Spring, William Trumpet and Thomas Warbretton served Talbot as archers, but in 1442 they appear as *lances*.

Normandy was settled by English ex-soldiers. This settlement provided future generations for whom military service became a family tradition. John Milcent was granted property in Caen in 1421 and rose to become a *lance à pied*. From 1439, three other Milcents – John, Thomas and Watkin – appear in the Caen garrison as archers. These were presumably sons of John senior.



LEFT Henry V from York Minster. This is very different from the common image of Henry in profile but is equally lifelike. (Reproduced by kind permission of the Dean and Chapter of York)

The archers²

Richard II had employed some 300 Cheshire archers in the 1390s. Many later served in France: John Donne served with four other archers while Richard de Hankelow served in the Harfleur garrison under the Earl of Dorset. About 50 of these archers were from manorial families, presumably younger sons. They accounted for six of Richard II's seven captains, and held extensive estates in and around Cheshire.

Another 100 came from the yeomanry – the sort of man that Henry V called for in 1421. The *inquisition post mortem* of William de Clutton shows a man of reasonable standing. The remainder came from the lower social ranks, men like William de Edgesley. When he was killed at the battle of Shrewsbury in 1403, his *inquisition post mortem* showed that he possessed just two cows and an acre of oats.

Exactly how these men were recruited into the army is unclear. Proficiency in archery would have been a prerequisite, but everybody in the country practised archery. Word of mouth and personal connections appear to have been the main method of recruiting proficient archers.

ARMS AND ARMOUR

The lance

The *lances* were the élite of the army, even if the individual *lance* was not knighted. Militarily they were equal to a knight, but those without a knighthood were socially inferior and therefore paid less. There is a great deal of confusion caused by different fashions in armour at the time and the great cost and durability of it, which meant that only the wealthiest could – or needed to – keep replacing armour with the latest fashion.

Armour

In 1416 the *lance* was almost entirely encased with plate armour. Many harness would follow the late 14th century style, which still had large areas of

² J. Gillespie, 'Richard II's Cheshire Archers', *Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, cxxv (1974)



**Effigy of the Black Prince
(d. 1377) showing the common
style of armour in the 1410s.
(Courtesy of the Dean & Chapter
of Canterbury Cathedral)**

mail as shown by the effigy of Edward, the Black Prince (died 1377). This style is shown on page 15, being worn by Richard II and the 12-year-old Henry (Henry V) in 1399.

A padded aketon was worn beneath the mail which served to absorb the impact of blows against the plate, and to protect the wearer from the discomfort of having plates moving directly against the body. By the second quarter of the fifteenth century, arming doublets were serving the same purpose, but with gussets of mail sown on to protect the areas that the plates did not cover, like the armpits.

The most common helmet in the late 14th century was the bascinet. It rose to a prominent point to deflect blows to the head, but left the face exposed; a visor could be attached for protection. The distinctive hounskull visor is the most common variation; as well as being detachable, it could be raised or removed for comfort when not in battle. When visors are shown attached in battle, they are usually lowered, despite the danger of having a reduced visibility. Holes in the 'nose' increased the circulation of air, in an attempt to reduce the discomfort of hot, stale air trapped against the face.

The hounskull visor is almost certainly the style worn by Henry V (as Prince of Wales) at the battle of Shrewsbury in 1403, when he was wounded in the face by an arrow. This suggests that despite illustrations to the contrary, the visor was sometimes raised or removed in battle – greatly improving the wearer's visibility, which was necessary for hand to hand fighting.

Slits in the leather edging of the aventail passed over pierced lugs (vervelles) on the bascinet which was then secured by a wire, thong or cord threaded through the vervelles.

Another common style of helmet is the kettle helmet, with the same pointed top of the bascinet (although some were round topped) and a large, sloping brim to deflect blows away from the head and face. These are usually shown worn with mail hoods.

Occasionally 'frog mouthed' great helms are shown in use by mounted knights. These were designed to protect the face at the point of contact of a cavalry charge. By bending forward, the wearer could see forward, but by sitting upright at the point of impact, he effectively closed this slit and protected his face. The obvious difficulties that this would cause in a mêlée explains why they are rarely depicted in battles.

The body was protected by a breastplate and a backplate which followed the contours of the body to the waist. The breastplate and backplate were each constructed from a single piece of plate, although the breastplate could be reinforced by the addition of a plackart across the abdomen. Beneath the waist was a fauld, with up to seven plates (lames) attached by leather straps. This provided flexible protection for the groin area without restricting the movement of the legs. Mail is often seen protruding beneath the fauld.

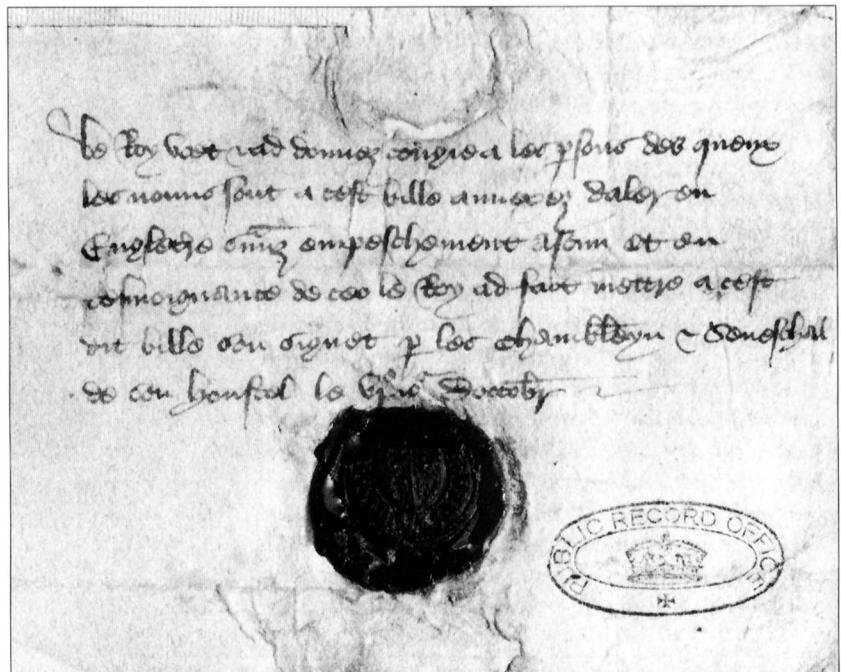
The arms and legs were protected by plate armour which was articulated

at the shoulder, elbows and knees. Gauntlets and sabetons for the feet were highly articulated, with many plates which slid smoothly over each other to give the maximum movement. Plate gussets were worn in addition to mail gussets to protect the vulnerable armpits.

This armour almost entirely covered the lance in plate. The exceptions were the aventail around the throat and a 'skirt' which is often seen protruding below the faulds. Both of these areas required flexibility for movement but were particularly vulnerable.

By 1420 plate was also in use around the throat, either through plates placed over the aventail or through the use of large bevoirs, as worn by Clarence in Plate B and on page 16. These great bascinets were fixed to the breastplate and backplate so the aventail was no longer used, although occasionally mail is shown protruding beneath the plate. The funeral brass of John Leventhorpe (died 1423) in Plate E and on page 17 – shows an interesting armour. It follows the late-14th century style with the clean lines. It is clearly closer to the armours of the Black Prince and Clarence than to the fluted and exaggerated German armours of the late 15th century. There were a number of developments with this armour which highlight the development of the later armours. The great bascinet is domed rather than pointed and is beginning to adopt the profile of a sallet. Mail has completely disappeared from around the neck. Small tassets have appeared for the first time, although the fauld is still the same size as in the previous armour.

By the 1440s another style of armour had entered service alongside the earlier styles. The most obvious change was the replacement of the bascinet by the sallet. The Skidmore indenture of 1440 specified a harness "wt bascenet or salade", which shows that the two styles were in use concurrently. The sallet is often shown worn with a bevor. These were smaller than the 1420s style, closely contoured around the chin, throat and neck, and fitted below the breastplate.



Permit for sick soldiers to return home from Harfleur, 6 October 1415. Issuing permits continued to stop deserters returning to England throughout the war. (PRO 101/45/14)

Other changes included the introduction of breast- and back-plates constructed of several pieces which increased the wearer's manoeuvrability. The pauldrons were enlarged and eventually overlapped across the back. The faulds were reduced in number and size, but this was made up for by the introduction of a tasset over each thigh (although sometimes a second pair was added suspended from the hips – this appears to have been peculiar to England). The highly fluted 'gothic' style was also appearing in England in the 1450s, as shown on the funeral effigy of Lord Hungerford³ (died 1455).

Heraldry

Heraldry remained important for the 15th century knight, but in contemporary illustrations (and in 15th century depictions of 14th century battles) few figures are identifiable by heraldry. The exceptions are kings and their heirs, and, of course, the Earl of Warwick in the *Beauchamp Pageant*.

In the early years, whenever personal heraldry was used, it is depicted on a tight-fitting jupon. Towards the end of the period tabards replaced the jupon. Tabards are shown worn loose over the armour or secured around the waist by a belt. They were lightly padded to retain their shape when worn loose, and displayed the wearer's identity better. There was also a miniature coat of arms on loose-padded sleeves.

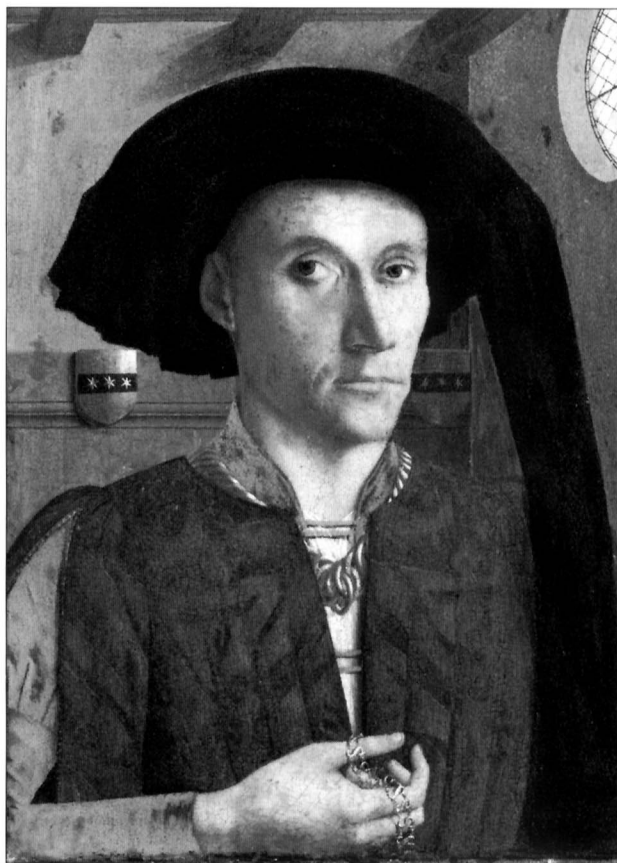
Weapons

Proficiency with the heavy lance would have been a requirement for *lances à cheval*, even though lances were probably only used in one pitched battle – at Baugé. The lance was a large heavy wooden weapon with a steel tip. An arrête on the right breast prevented the lance from slipping backwards on impact, and would also support some of the lance's weight. The lance was a one directional shock weapon which relied on momentum for its impact. Consequently, it was difficult to re-orientate a cavalry charge to a new objective quickly.

Cavalry charges are usually depicted with *lances* carrying swords, acting as a flank protection party. Once the cavalry charge had been delivered the *lances* carrying lances would be extremely vulnerable. On impact they would lose their momentum and then be armed with an unusable, if not broken, lance. They then required immediate support from colleagues with the flexibility to protect them while they were vulnerable and also to exploit the impact of the lances. This would be provided by the swords carried from the flanks.

For dismounted fighting, the most commonly shown pole arm was the pollaxe. 'Pole' refers to 'poll' for head rather than 'pole'

Edward Grimston c. 1444
showing the civilian styles and
his Lancastrian 'SS' collar. Note
that the collar has no backing.
(National Gallery)





Richard II knightening Henry in 1399. (British Library, Harley MS 1319)

for shaft, which indicates how it was intended to be used: a spike and a hammer head could be brought down onto an opponent's head. Another spike could be used for thrusting.

By 1416 the sword had developed into a fine tool for thrusting rather than slashing, or to exploit the thin gaps between the plates. The blade was long and tapered to a point, with a flattened diamond cross section. They are usually shown being used single-handed, but sometimes the second hand is on the grip or even on the blade which indicates

blades were not sharpened all the way to the cross guard.

Typically the 14th century sword belt was worn horizontally on the fauld – not across the waist like modern belts. These could be highly decorative, with enamelled or jewelled panels. A dagger was suspended from the opposite side. Across the top of many scabbards are religious mottoes, like IHS (Jesus). From around 1400 the sword belt was also worn diagonally, from the right waist to the left hip, and could also be highly decorated. In some cases both belts (horizontal and diagonal) are shown in use together.

Due to the increasing use of plate armour, large wooden shields were no longer required for protection and had been abandoned. Typically, no shields of any kind are shown, but when they are, it is the small buckler which is depicted. This was about a foot in diameter and held in the fist. The cross section was a flat 'W'. When held in the hand it could be used to parry blows, or as an extension of the fist to hit an opponent.

Horses

Contemporary illustrations rarely show horses with armour (bard). When heraldic trappings were worn, any armour would be hidden. The implication is that bards were not favoured by either side. This is probably understandable amongst English *lances* because of the tradition of fighting on foot, but it is more unusual for the French, who had a long tradition of mounted fighting, though cost may have been a reason.

Richard II is shown in the tapestry above on a horse with partly uncovered mail armour, which highlights the problem of discovering the extent to which armour was used. The earliest surviving plate bards date to around 1450⁴ but plate armour had been in use since the middle of the 14th century to protect horses' heads. Unfortunately, the written requirements which distinguished a *lance à pied* from a *lance*

⁴ See MAA 144, *Medieval Burgundian Armies*, p. 14



Effigy of Thomas, Duke of Clarence (d. 1421). Note the plate around the throat compared with the Black Prince. In the background is John Beaufort, Margaret Holland's first husband. John's brother, Thomas, Duke of Exeter (d. 1426) was the first Admiral of England; John's two eldest sons also served in France: Henry, Earl of Somerset (d. 1418) and John, Duke of Somerset (d. 1444). (Courtesy Dean & Chapter of Canterbury Cathedral)

à cheval have not survived, so it is impossible to determine whether each *lance à cheval* needed a bard.

Archers

There was a noticeable change in the appearance of archers over the period. In 1416 they probably had a distinctly 14th century appearance, but the descriptions from the final campaigns are similar to those from the Wars of the Roses.

The typical late-14th century archer wore a knee-length padded garment with long

sleeves, known as a jack. These are shown with vertical stitching on the body and sleeves, giving an impression of a body-shaped cricket pad. They were constructed either by multiple layers of fabric sewn together – like the one owned by Sir John Howard in the 1460s, which had 23 layers of fustian and linen at the front and 21 at the back – or they could be stuffed with any soft material, as Dominic Mancini described in 1483 (see page 17). Whether or not any other defensive garments were worn underneath is unclear because of the large size of the jack. Occasionally the bottom of a mail shirt or skirt is shown beneath the jack.

Archers had a larger variety of helmets than knights. Bascinet without visors were common, and aventails were not always worn with the bascinets. Simple helmets constructed by attaching small plates to an internal frame offered a cheap form of protection, while Jean de Waurin at Agincourt observed bare-headed archers and others wearing helmets of boiled leather or leather attached to a frame of willow wands. The latter descriptions are unlikely to have been of experienced soldiers; they were probably among the thousands who participated in the occasional campaign and who would not have purchased expensive equipment.

Leg armour is occasionally shown on archers; poleyns are more often shown being worn on their own. Curiously, gauntlets are regularly shown being worn for archery.

Weapons

The longbow occupies its rightful place in English history and literature. The remarkable archaeological finds from the Mary Rose have revealed longbows with a draw weight of up to 180lb. At Dupplin Moor 200 years previously the Scottish army formed up quarter of a mile from the English in order to be out of range of their arrows. These two examples show the immense power and range available to English commanders from their archers.

Only one medieval description of a longbow and arrow have survived. The *de Banco Roll* of 1298 describes the equipment used in a murder. The bow was 5ft 7.5in tall with a 6in circumference. The hemp string was 0.5 of an inch thick. The arrow was 34in long and an inch wide, with a broadhead. In war the broadhead would be replaced with a bodkin head

designed to pierce armour. The *Mary Rose* bows are believed to have had horn inserted into the nock originally (since decomposed), although these are not always shown on medieval illustrations. Quantities of arrows are shown being carried in large soft arrow bags (as distinct from quivers). Smaller quantities were carried under the belt, like Chaucer's Yeoman in the *Canterbury Tales*.

Many secondary weapons are listed for archers, including hammers, axes and mauls, but in contemporary illustrations the sword is dominant. These are suspended on simpler versions of the *lance's* sword belt, but they are still worn horizontally around the hip rather than the waist. Bucklers and daggers were also carried. Stakes, which were sharpened at both ends, were ordered to be carried before Agincourt and Cravant. They also appear in other battles; carrying stakes was a regular activity for archers.

Later changes

In 1440 James Skidmore's indenture specified that the archers should have "good jakks of defence, salades, swerds and sheves of xl. arwes atte lest", while during the 1449-50 campaign Jean Chartier described the English mounted archers as "mostly armed with brigandines, leg armour and sallets, of whom the majority were glittering in silver or at least had good jacks and haubergeons".

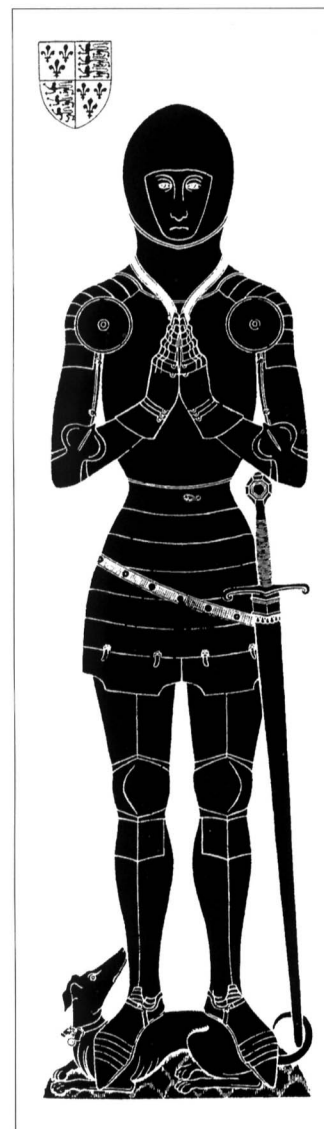
These correspond very closely with Dominic Mancini's description of Richard III's archers in London in 1483:

"There are hardly any without a helmet [sallet], and none without bows and arrows; their bows and arrows are thicker and longer than those used by other nations, just as their bodies are stronger than other peoples', for their bow is no less than our arbalest; there hangs by the side of each a sword no less long than ours, but thick and heavy as well. The sword is always accompanied by an iron shield [buckler]....They do not wear any metal armour on their breast or any other part of their body, except for the better sort who have breastplates and suits of armour. Indeed the common soldiery have more comfortable tunics [jacks] that reach down below the loins and are stuffed with tow or some other soft material. They say that the softer the tunics the better do they withstand the blows of arrows and swords, and besides that in summer they are lighter and in winter more serviceable than iron."

The *Warwick Pageant* drawings were commissioned about 1483. They show that there had been a definite change in the appearance of the archers. Mancini and the *Warwick Pageant* agree with Skidmore and Chartier, so this change can be dated to the 1440s, if not earlier. The *Warwick Pageant* does not show archers wearing jacks. (Later continental chroniclers, like Schilling, depict archers, presumably English, in Burgundian service, wearing waist-length jacks which are shorter than those described by Mancini.) There are many illustrations of mail shirts and brigandines. Sallets became the universal headwear. Swords were worn around the waist or diagonally from the right hip, and bucklers are carried by most archers.

Horses

Without exception, archers' horses are not shown with any form of armour. The archers used the same long-legged riding style as the *lances*. The archer's deep saddle emulates the style used by the *lance à cheval*.



John Leventhorpe, d. 1423. It is not known as to whether he fought in France. This funeral brass shows that by this date, and certainly earlier, the *lance* could be expected to be fully encased in plate – if he could afford it. (HM Stationary Officer)



Armet belonging to the early 16th century. The development from bascinet of the 15th century can clearly be seen. These are less common than sallets and bascinets in contemporary illustrations, but are shown being worn alongside sallets. (Wallace Collection)

The unusual harness, common throughout the late Middle Ages, was decorated with metal pendants.

Uniforms

In 1417 Henry V decreed that any English soldier who killed another English soldier when the latter was not wearing the Cross of St. George should have no charge to answer. Henry was very keen to enforce the wearing of the cross to identify his soldiers. Illustrations from the 14th century do not show English soldiers wearing the cross – it only appears on flags, but by the 15th century all English soldiers wear the red cross on their chests, either sewn into a brigandine or painted onto a breastplate. The medieval artistic convention was to portray figures in historical events in the

current fashions which explains why 14th century battles are portrayed with 15th century soldiers wearing red crosses, or white crosses for the French.

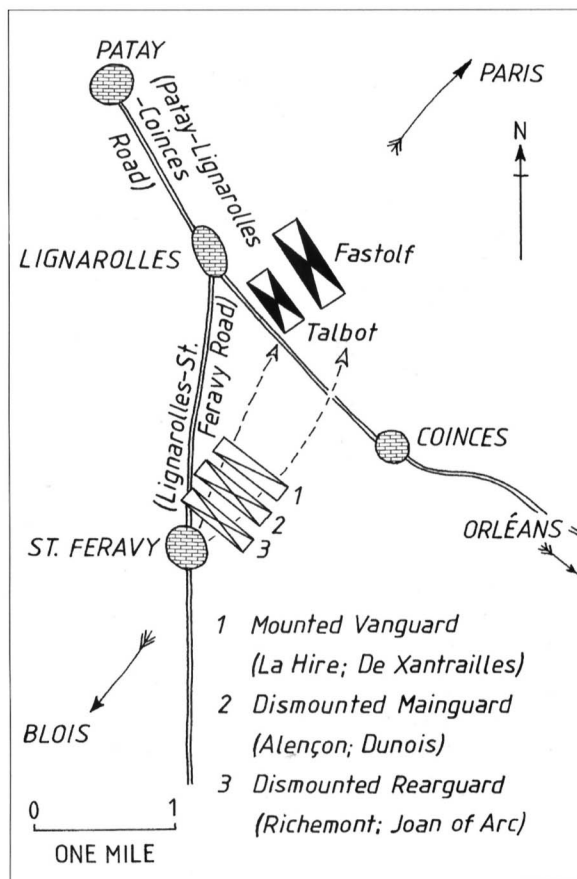
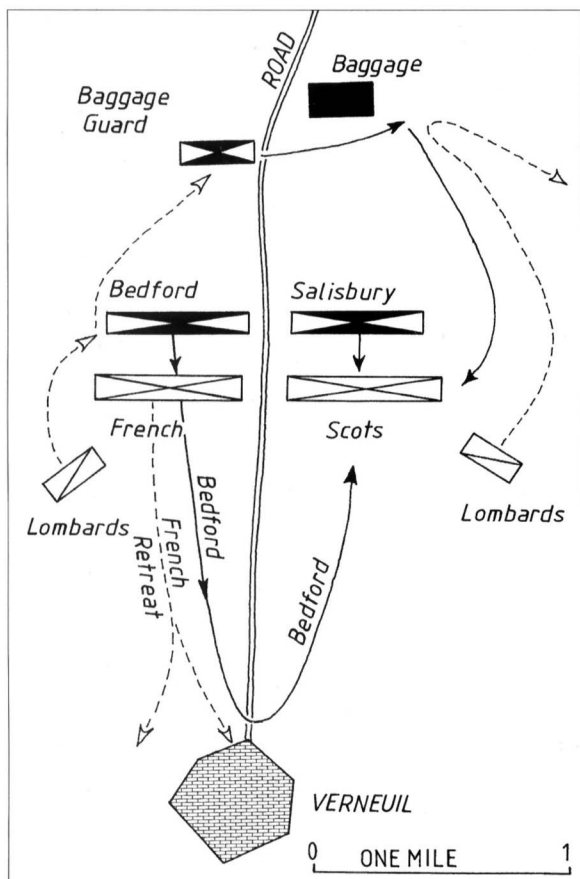
The red cross is rarely shown on the white coat or livery during this period. The only example that I am aware of is an illustration of the Duke of Orléans imprisoned in the Tower of London, in which miniature knights wearing white liveries with red crosses can be seen. The personal badges of magnates were used with the national livery during Edward IV's 1475 invasion of France, but there is no evidence for their use before 1453. Prior to 1453 these were national armies recruited for and paid by the king, not personal armies temporarily placed at the king's disposal as in 1475.

THE CAMPAIGNS

Valmont and Harfleur

On 9 March 1416 the Earl of Dorset, captain of Harfleur, led a 1,000-strong raid. While returning to Harfleur, Dorset's route was blocked by a French force near Valmont. The English formed a line with the horses and baggage to the rear. Successive French cavalry charges eventually broke through and raided the baggage. Dorset reorganised in a hedged garden where they held off the French until dark and then slipped away. The following day French patrols failed to locate them hiding in a wood. That night they made for the coast and followed it towards Harfleur. At dawn, as they entered the Seine estuary, a French patrol at the top of the cliffs spotted them and attacked. The French were routed before their main body arrived. The English formed up on the top of the cliffs and defeated the French again, and the way to Harfleur was opened. As the retreating French passed by Harfleur en route to Rouen, the Harfleur garrison sallied out to inflict more casualties.

Harfleur was still invested by land and at sea by a Franco-Genoese fleet. On 15 August an English fleet under John, Duke of Bedford arrived at the Seine. It was inferior to the Franco-Genoese fleet in both



ABOVE, LEFT **Verneuil, 1424.** The battle opened with an archery duel. Lombards on the French left charged and routed some of Bedford's archers and went on to engage the baggage guard. Lombards on the Scottish right ignored Salisbury's archers to raid the baggage train. The baggage guard defeated both bodies of Lombards and then advanced upon the Scots. Meanwhile, the main armies had clashed with Bedford routing the French before attacking the Scots from the rear. (David Nicolle PhD)

ABOVE, RIGHT **Patay, 1429.** During the retreat from Orléans, the English stopped to make a stand against the pursuing French. Talbot's force was still forming up when it was surprised and ridden down by French cavalry. Fastolf managed to extract his force. (David Nicolle PhD)

number (70-100 against 150) and tonnage. The English fleet attacked the next day by sailing straight for the moored enemy. Despite heavy losses (about 20 ships), the English succeeded in boarding or beaching enough Franco-Genoese ships to make the remainder withdraw to Honfleur. Part of the fleet returned to Southampton with the wounded Bedford, while the remainder relieved Harfleur.

The conquest of Normandy

Henry V landed at the mouth of the river Touques on 1 August 1417. On 18 August Caen was besieged. On 4 September the new town, on an island, was attacked. Henry's troops crossed the moat using fascines but met strong opposition as they tried to mount the walls. Clarence's troops successfully stormed a breach and came to the assistance of Henry's troops. The new and old towns were then sacked. William the Conqueror's castle agreed to surrender on 20 August if it was not relieved. No relief came.

Falaise was besieged on 1 December and surrendered on 2 January 1418, with the castle surrendering a month later. From there, three columns were despatched to the Cotentin, Coutances and Avranches,

and Domfront. In the spring of 1418 Clarence captured the country below Rouen in preparation for its siege.

The English crossed the Seine at Pont de L'Arche. A pontoon bridge allowed them to occupy an island. From there, archers covered a small party which swam the remainder to establish a bridgehead. Pont de L'Arche surrendered on 20 July. Rouen was invested but held out until 20 January 1419. Resistance in the remainder of Normandy crumbled throughout 1419.

On 10 September the Dauphin (Charles VII) and John, Duke of Burgundy met at Montereau to end the civil war. In a scuffle, Burgundy was killed, and his son formed an alliance with Henry V for revenge. In May 1420 the Treaty of Troyes made for Henry's marriage to Catherine of Valois and disinherited the Dauphin in favour of their heir. Henry became regent of France.

Troyes to Tours

Thomas, Earl of Salisbury was sent to Maine to capture the area between Le Mans and Alençon. During the siege of Fresney-le-Vicomte a major Franco-Scottish relieving army was ambushed and routed by the Earl of Huntingdon in the battle of Fresney (3 March 1420).

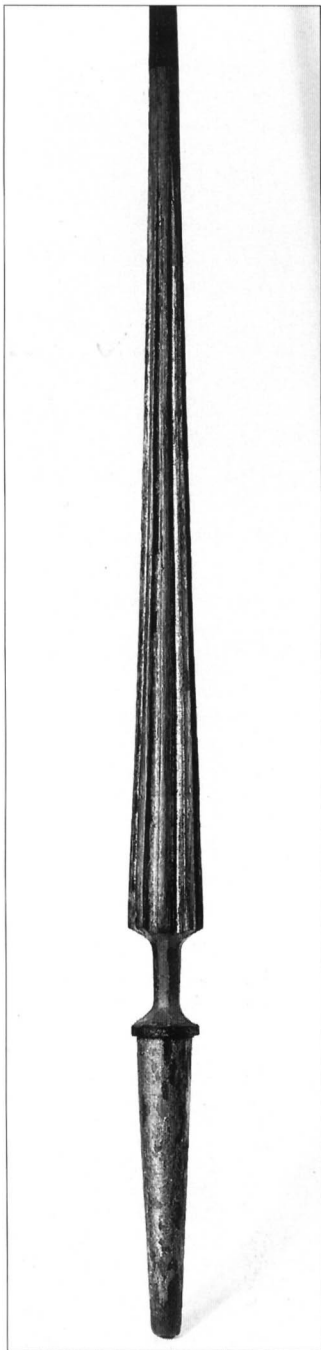
Early in 1421 Henry returned to England with his bride, leaving Clarence as regent. In February Clarence raided past Le Mans towards Angers, reaching Baugé, 22 miles west of Angers, before retiring to Beaufort. A Franco-Scottish army then occupied the nearby Vieil Baugé. Clarence's archers were foraging. Without waiting to muster them, Clarence set out for Baugé with his *lances*. He fought his way across the marshy river Couosnon and into Baugé, but there they became disorganised in the streets. The majority of the Franco-Scottish forces were not yet in Baugé, and when they appeared, Clarence probably led a cavalry charge. He was killed, and the English – outnumbered – were forced back to the Couosnon to be killed, captured or dispersed. Salisbury and the archers retrieved Clarence's body that night and withdrew northwards.

On 10 June 1421 Henry set sail for Calais to relieve the pressure on Burgundy. The campaign culminated in the siege of Meaux, from 6 October 1421 to 2 May 1422. For the next campaign Henry and Burgundy were to meet at Cosne, but shortly after leaving Paris, Henry became ill and was forced to turn back. The campaign came to nothing, and it was there in Paris that Henry V died.

In 1423 the Dauphin's army attempted to capture Cravant. Salisbury was detached with an Anglo-Burgundian army to relieve Cravant. After an initial approach from Auxerre, Salisbury chose a flank attack. The *lances* crossed the river and bridge under an archery barrage in an unusual example of an offensive English battle. The Scottish contingent in particular suffered before retiring southwards with the rest of the army.

Sallet, c. 1460. This style was probably in use by the 1440s. (Victoria & Albert Museum)





Jousting lance, perhaps belonging to Henry VIII. These lances are fluted and were sometimes created hollow to ensure they shattered easily in a joust during a tournament. (VII.551. The Board of Trustees, Royal Armouries)

In August 1424 a Franco-Scottish army recaptured Verneuil. On 17 August Bedford and Salisbury arrayed in front of Verneuil with the baggage to the rear. About 4 o'clock the English advanced, then halted, and the archers placed stakes before them. Mounted Lombards charged the English flanks, as at Agincourt, but now the English flanks were unsecured. Bedford's archers broke to the rear, but the *lances* held and eventually broke the French. Bedford's division then turned on the Scots. While the English reserve were preoccupied with one contingent of Lombards, the other contingent sacked the baggage. The reserve was able to drive both contingents from the field and then join the battle against the Scots. The Scots suffered particularly heavily and thereafter no major Scottish force took to the field.

The next major offensive was against Orléans in 1428. Throughout September Salisbury isolated Orléans by capturing Jargeau, Beaugency and Meung. Salisbury's death at Orléans was a great loss, but worse was to come. Joan of Arc entered Orléans on 30 April 1429 and a relieving army arrived a few days later. A series of attacks on 6 and 7 May were successfully launched against the English positions. Outnumbered, outgunned and with low morale, the English could not sustain their position. Forcing the issue on 8 May, the English arrayed for battle outside Orléans but the French declined the invitation, leaving their enemies to wither in a fruitless siege. Facing the inevitable failure of their plans, they marched away. Orléans marks the turning point for the English as this was to be the first of many retreats.

The English decided to make a stand just south of Patay on 18 June. A forward position was established, while the main body prepared a position on a ridge. Neither were ready when the French vanguard, urged by Joan of Arc to use their spurs, appeared on the crest of a ridge and rode down into the English. A month later the Dauphin entered Rheims to be crowned Charles VII.

The following campaigns were aimed at stabilising a deteriorating situation, which was made worse by the Treaty of Arras, where Burgundy renewed its alliance with Charles VII. The frontiers fluctuated as armies besieged and relieved towns. The French avoided all attempts to bring them to battle. Eventually, exhausted, the Truce of Tours (1444) ended the fighting. This created more problems in England. Henry VI married Margaret of Anjou and ceded Maine and Anjou to her father. The garrisons there mutinied, but eventually withdrew.

The loss of Normandy

Normandy was neglected while France prepared for war and waited for an excuse. Their chance came with the politically misjudged capture of Fougères in 1449. That autumn three armies poured into Normandy. Outnumbered and without hope of relief, the English defences crumbled. Sir Thomas Kriell, with 2,500 soldiers, landed in March 1450 to relieve Bayeux. On 15 April at Formigny Kriell met Constable de Richemont. The English formed up and repulsed French mounted and dismounted attacks. The English counter-attacked and captured the French artillery. Kriell re-formed on his original position but a second French force appeared to the south. The English changed their front but was attacked by both French forces, and the last English army in Normandy was destroyed.

Gascony

On 30 June 1451 Bordeaux surrendered to Charles VII. In October 1452, Shrewsbury was let into Bordeaux. The following summer three French columns entered Gascony. The middle army camped outside Castillon, and Shrewsbury was obliged to relieve Castillon.

On 17 July 1453 a dawn attack routed a French forward position. Sentries then reported mounted soldiers fleeing the main camp and it was decided to attack. Shrewsbury's foot soldiers had yet to arrive. The camp contained 250 artillery pieces (probably including handguns) behind an earthen bank. The Lidoire was unfordable.

Shrewsbury attacked from the south, where he had space to deploy his troops. The fleeing soldiers had actually been grooms with horses to make space for the soldiers who had been previously routed. Outnumbered and without artillery, the attack went in and Sir Thomas Everingham placed the standard on the parapet, before being killed. As English reinforcements arrived, the French were reinforced by Bretons from another camp. The English were now faced by attacks on two fronts and were forced back to the Dordogne.

Shrewsbury was unarmoured and unarmed in accordance with the terms of his release by Charles VII in 1450. His horse was shot from beneath him and he was killed by an axe blow to the skull. Beside him died his son, Lord Lisle. With Shrewsbury dead, the army made its way to Bordeaux, which surrendered again on 10 October, ending English rule in Gascony.



Cavalry charge showing lances protected by swords from the battle of Shrewsbury (1403), Henry V's only other battle. (BL MS Cotton Julius EIV f.4)

CAMPAIGN LIFE

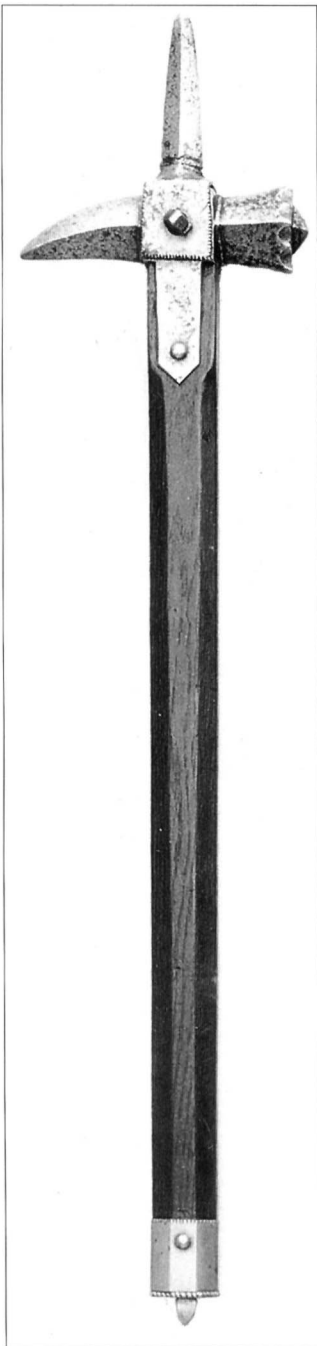
Few soldiers would have participated in battles, since out of 37 years of campaigning, battles only occupied eight days in total. Sieges were more common: weeks of inaction punctuated by frantic bursts of fighting. For most soldiers, French service consisted of marches in the summer heat, in pursuit of an enemy who refused to be drawn into a battle.

Discipline

The most outstanding aspect of the army was the standard of discipline, particularly in the early campaigns. Shakespeare's Henry V executed Bardolf for the theft of a pax, declaring: 'We would have all such offenders so cut off.'

The *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, which is the source of this story, says that it was in fact a copper gilt pyx which was stolen. In 1429 the Lieutenant of Harfleur wrote: "[Bedford] governed him and all [the King's] men in his company in such manner that all this country blesseth him and his men, in such wise that I have had no complaint of them after his parting."

This reputation is not restricted to English sources. Even French



War hammer, possibly French,
c. 1450. (The Wallace Collection)

sources, not usually favourable to the English, are complimentary. One French chronicler said that the English did not rape or rob on their march to Agincourt, yet the French troops in the same area did. The St. Denys Chronicler states that the English considered it a “crime to have bad women in their camp” and felt it important to “closely observe the rules of military discipline”. Bedford relaxed the issue of camp women to take account of the soldiers’ physical needs. In Maine, Salisbury forbade soldiers from keeping their own women. The soldier would lose a month’s wage and the woman would have her arm broken and be driven from the army. This was not aimed at common women, but at women who were kept by just one man, since it was deemed to cause resentment and jealousy among those who had no woman.

Ordinances were regularly proclaimed, from 1415, in both English and French to soldiers and civilians. For the medieval soldier accustomed to plundering and oppressing, this was a bold move by Henry V, which could easily have undermined his authority and resulted in a mutiny. The ordinances could have been publicity stunts, but it appears that every effort was made to enforce them.

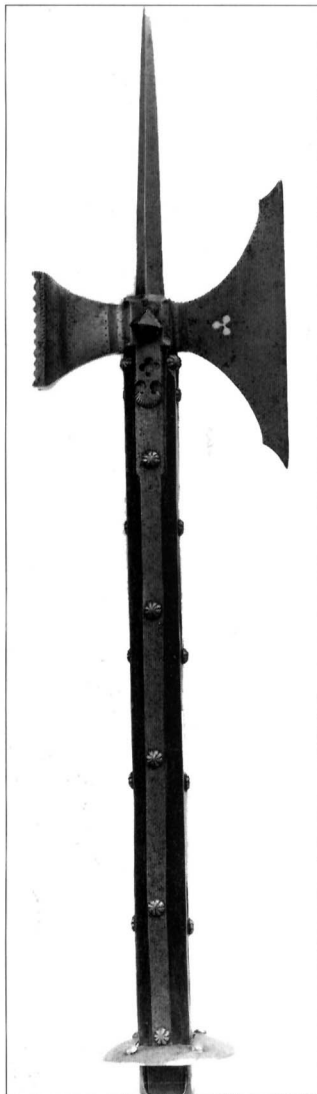
On the march and during sieges certain excesses were necessary but the English made such a good impression that the hostile Bourgeois of Paris preferred an English army to the French. To avoid pillaging while on the march, the soldiers carried food for eight days before Agincourt and for two days before Cravant.

Prior to Cravant, Waurin recorded that the Anglo-Burgundian army agreed to the following conditions to prevent disharmony on the campaign:

- The two national contingents were to form one indivisible army.
- To ensure this, every man in each contingent was to live in harmony with the others.
- Two marshals were appointed to control the movements and discipline of the troops, one English and one Burgundian.
- Each soldier was to carry on his person two days’ food.
- Supplementary food for future days was to be provided by the townsmen of Auxerre and sent forward to the army.
- Each archer was to provide himself with a wooden stake, pointed at each end, to plant in the ground to his front.
- Each soldier was to keep his exact station in the ranks; the penalty for falling out was corporal punishment.
- One hundred and twenty *lances*, sixty English and sixty Burgundian, were to go forward as scouts in front of the army.
- On getting near the enemy, everyone was to dismount, and the horses were to be led a good half-mile to the rear.
- No prisoners were to be taken until the issue of the battle had been decided.

During sieges, Henry ensured that his troops were regularly paid. Merchants were given armed escorts and markets were established so that the soldiers had access to food without pillaging. During the sieges of Caen and Rouen, foodstuff was shipped straight from England to the siege lines.

The siege was the source of a great deal of destruction and hardship. Defenders often burned their suburbs to deny them to the English, while



Pollaxe, perhaps French, c. 1470.
(The Wallace Collection)

the town itself would be damaged by artillery. During the siege of Rouen the 'useless mouths' were expelled from the city by the French. Henry refused to feed them (except for a Christmas dinner) or to allow them into his camp, so they huddled outside the city walls. Henry was mindful of the need to maintain camp discipline, and he knew it would be disrupted by the influx of the destitute, starving and women. For his defence, Henry said: "I put [t]hem not there", and returned their responsibility to the city authorities.

Mercifully, only two towns were sacked – Caen in 1417 and Poissy in 1441. Caen was notorious even in its day, but there was little that Henry could have done once the soldiers had entered the breach. Under the laws of war, once a city resisted after all likelihood of relief had passed, it was liable to be sacked. Shakespeare's Henry V put it to the Governor of Harfleur:

*"How yet resolves the Governor of the town?...
What say you? Will you yield, and this avoid?
Or, guilty in defence, be thus destroyed?"*

The example of Caen subdued most of Lower Normandy and prevented other long and costly sieges.

Logistics

The logistical support provided by England for the army in Normandy was vital for its early successes. It was intended that Normandy would become self-sufficient, but it remained reliant on England for men and money.

When Edward III sailed on his Crécy campaign, his army of 15,000 required 700 ships. This was a *chevauchée* and expected to live off the land. In 1415 Henry V's army of 10,000 men required 1,500 ships. Henry planned to take sufficient supplies to avoid plundering the locals. However, he did not take enough, and despite requests to London to supply "corne, brede, mele, or floure, wyne, ale or biere, fysshe, fleshe or any vitaille", the army had to resort to eating shellfish and unripe fruit. A similar situation arose in 1511, when Thomas Hall wrote that the soldiers "did eate of the Garlick with all meates, and drank hote wyne in the hote weather, and did eate all the hot frutes that thei could gete, which caused their bloudde so to boyle in their bellies, that there fell sick three thousand of the flixe and thereof died XVIII hundred men".

Because soldiers provided their own equipment, it is difficult to assess how much materiel was supplied from England. In 1417 the Crown required huge quantities of arrows alone: Parliament legislated against the use of ash for clogs and patterns because this was the favoured wood for arrows; 200,000 arrowheads were ordered; sheriffs collected six primary feathers from each goose and 1,190,000 were supplied to the Tower of London. In addition to this were the arrows required by the 7,794 archers who crossed to Normandy in that year.

Soldiers had to provide all their own equipment, although they may have received some assistance, as Talbot's archers did from Blackmere. The following prices give an idea of the expenses facing the archer recruited on the terms of the Skidmore indenture.

The Crown paid 3d per *garba* or 24 arrows (although one Norman



ON BOARD SHIP, C.1410
1: Knight, early 15th century
2 & 3: Archers, 14th century
(See text commentary for detailed captions)

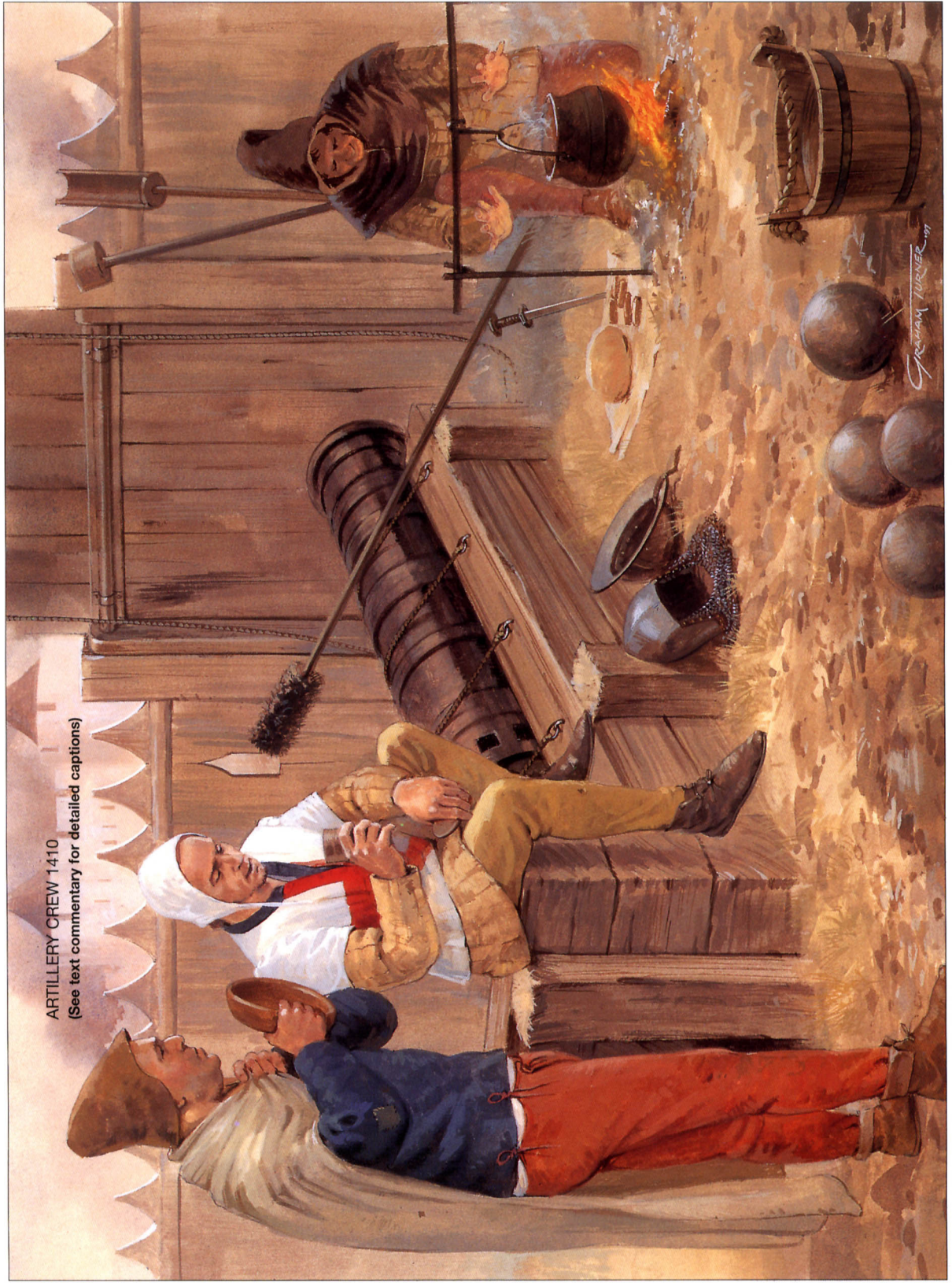
GRAHAM TURNER 1997

BATTLE OF BAUGÉ, 1421
1: Thomas, Duke of Clarence
2: Standard bearer



GRHAM TURNER '97

ARTILLERY CREW 1410
(See text commentary for detailed captions)





D

THE MINES c.1415 (See text commentary for detailed captions)



EARLY LANCES

- 1: 14th century lance
- 2: John Leventhorpe,
Receiver of the Duchy of Lancaster
- 3: Thomas Montague, Earl of Salisbury

LATER LANCES

1: William Phillip, Lord Bardolf

2: Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick

3: Sir John Cressy



UNIFORMS AND CAMOUFLAGE

1: Archer, 15th century

2: English guard, Tower of London

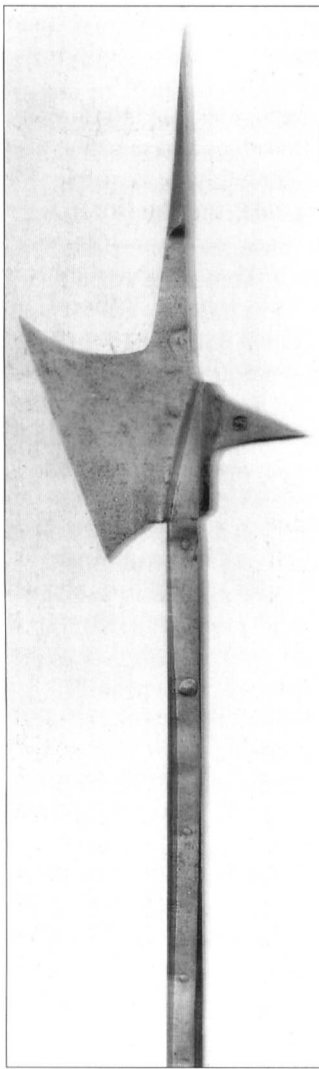
3: Archer, Pontoise, 13 February 1437



THE LOSS OF NORMANDY 1449-1450

- 1: Norman archer
- 2: John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury
- 3: Lightly armoured billmen





Halberd, German, c. 1500, but very likely to have been found in northern France. (The Wallace Collection)

source gives 2s per dozen). The Crown's price may have been forced down by purveyance, and at the same time the huge quantities required inflated the price for other purchasers. The Crown purchased eight gross of bowstrings for £2 – at 3d each. In 1418 £42 2s 4d was paid for 260 bows and 50,500 arrows. At 3d per *garba*, £26 5s was paid for 2,100 *garba*, which leaves £7 17s 4d for 260 bows at between 7d and 8d each. Interestingly, one bowstring cost the same as 24 arrows or half the price of a bow. An archer's horse cost about £2.

From these prices James Skidmore's archers would have to pay: 6d for their arrows; 6d for two bowstrings (including a spare); 7d for a bow; and £2 for a horse. This initial outlay of £2 1s 7d accounts for almost a quarter's wages, and excludes swords, bucklers, defensive clothing, riding tackle, care of the horse and replacements.

The realities of war

When the 'Chaplain' recorded Henry's speech to his troops before Agincourt in the *Gesta* ('We few, we happy few, we band of brothers; For he today that sheds his blood with me; Shall be my brother; be he ne'er so vile' – Shakespeare), he did not have in mind the likes of Thomas Hostell. The latter was wounded at Harfleur and Agincourt and in 1427 he petitioned Henry VI because he had been wounded by a "springolt through the hede, lesing his oon ye, and his cheke boon broken ... sore febeled and debrused; now falle to greet age and poverty; greatly endetted; and may not helpe himself ... being for his said services never yit recompensed ne rewarded".

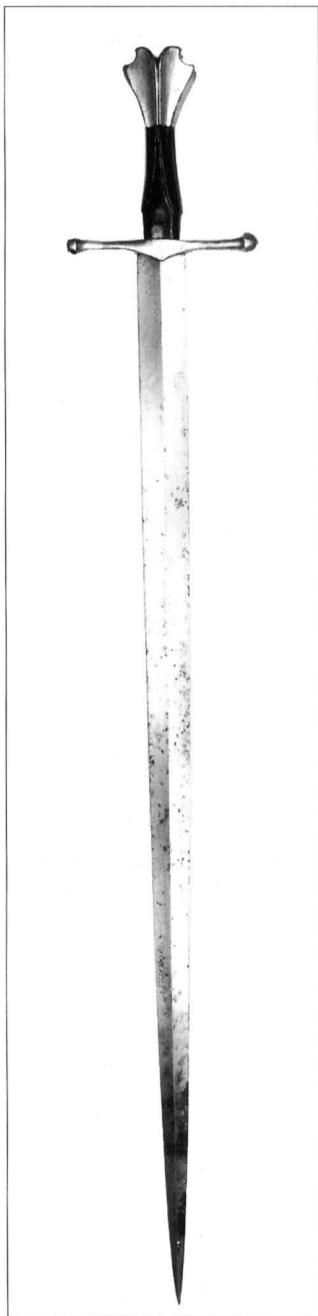
Following the battle of Barnet (1471), Garhard von Wessel described the returning soldiers: "... and many of their followers were wounded, mostly in the face or the lower half of the body, a very pitiful sight ... those who set out with good horses and sound bodies returned home with sorry nags and bandaged faces, some without noses etc. and preferred to stay indoors". These sights must have been common following the battles and skirmishes of the period.

A hard-won victory is preferable to a defeat. Verneuil was a hard-fought battle. Waurin recalled that he "saw the assembly at Agincourt and at Cravant, but Verneuil was the most formidable, and the best fought". Two of the four English defeats were complete – Formigny (1450) and Castillon (1453). Following Formigny there were reportedly 3,774 English corpses from an army of some 4,000, while at Castillon each artillery shot killed six or seven Englishmen. These battles represented the end of English power in Normandy and Gascony.

GARRISON LIFE⁵

Once a town had surrendered, an English garrison was installed along the lines of the previous garrison, to avoid antagonising the townspeople. To all intents and purposes all that changed was the language. Some English garrisons existed for over 30 years, and in the quieter areas, like Cherbourg, life was probably quite relaxed. Marriage to local

⁵ A. Curry, 'Isolated or Integrated? The English Soldier in Lancastrian Normandy', in A. Minnis ed., *Courts and Regions in Medieval Europe* (forthcoming) and also Dr. Curry's work in *Reading Medieval Studies* (various)



Sword, Italian, c. 1460.
(The Wallace Collection)

women and property ownership integrated the English with the Norman population. In 1450, with the loss of Normandy, many Englishmen remained, since they had put down roots.

Garrisons were commanded by captains but were often held in plurality, so a lieutenant actually commanded the post. Constables and marshals also held authority in garrisons: constables were probably responsible for defence, and deputised for the lieutenant, while the marshals were responsible for discipline. However, these distinctions were not clear-cut.

A clerk was responsible for the resupply of the garrison, recruitment and other tasks for the captain. In 1449 Talbot's clerk, John le Prince 'The Younger', arranged for powder, artillery and Shrewsbury's share of the bounty for the capture of Fougères. Le Prince was a soldier throughout the 1440s, and therefore these offices were carried out by soldiers not civilians.

A *victualiar* was responsible for food supplies, and a *clerc de guet* maintained the watch.

The maintenance of discipline and military standards was an important task for the administration. Surviving records show that garrison soldiers were no angels: they got into trouble through drink, gambling, women and – that perennial problem of the English abroad – language. (In 1428 a dispute arose in a Dieppe brothel between a Norman sailor and an English soldier when the latter refused to drink '*cervoise*' and wanted '*bière*'.)

Comptroleurs were appointed to each garrison, but they were paid centrally and were not part of the garrison's strength. Their role was to maintain standards according to the ordinances and the indentures. At a quarterly muster, the *comptroleur* checked that the soldiers had the equipment required by their indenture.

The garrisons maintained the 1:3 ratio of *lances* to archers. From 1430, half of the *lances* were permitted to be French or Norman, but the archers were all to be English, Irish, Welsh or Gascon. In 1434 this was changed so that an eighth of the whole garrison could be French or Norman. This now included the archers, so the overall proportion of French and Normans within the garrison did not change.

From 1418 wages were not released until all complaints from the civilians were rectified, and from 1428 this complaints procedure was administered by the civilian authorities. The *vicomte's* signature was required on a certificate to release the wages, but first he had to satisfy himself that the locals had no grievances against the garrison. At St. Lô in February 1430 a proclamation was read out in the market square for two days, inviting all grievances against the garrison to be brought to the *vicomte*. This system appeared to work well, by the standards of the day. The wages due at Coutances on 31 December 1429 was delayed because the certificate was not issued until 11 January 1430. In this case the time of the year may have been responsible, but the garrison would have been eager to receive their pay in order to see in the New Year.

The last recorded example of this system was at Falaise in 1435. Thereafter the system began to fall apart because of insufficient funds to pay the garrisons.

Settlers

Although not part of the garrison, settlers did have an important role to play in the defence of their town. There were large settlements in

Harfleur, Honfleur, Caen and Cherbourg. Abandoned rural estates were granted to soldiers. Henry V also called for craftsmen and merchants to settle in Normandy, in an attempt to revitalise an economy which was already in decline by 1415. Economic growth would provide revenue to fund the garrisons.

Grants of town houses or rural estates usually followed military service; it was a way of returning soldiers to civilian life once their indenture had expired. (Unemployed soldiers created a constant law and order problem in Normandy.) In return for these grants, military duties were demanded. In the towns this was usually *guet et guard*, the traditional French system, where citizens guarded their town wall for a set number of nights per year. This was always unpopular, especially during peace-time. There is evidence that this was later commuted to a cash payment to members of the garrison, who undertook this task alongside their own garrison duties.

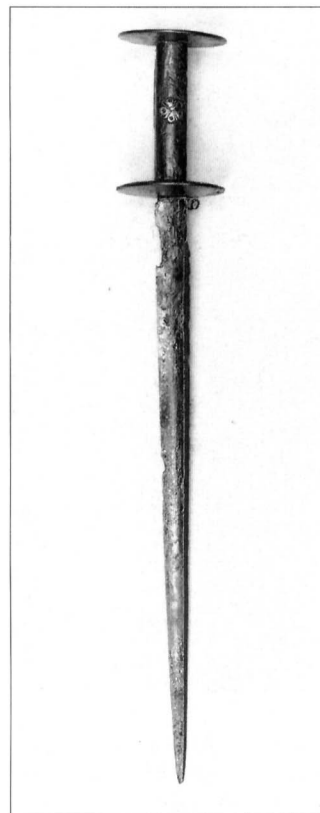
When the Grey family was granted the *vicomte* of Tancarville, they also found themselves responsible for the maintenance of the castle at Tancarville and the payment of the garrison. John Popham received the fortress and *seigneurie* of Thorigny, but he had to provide one *lance* and three archers for the king at his own expense and also had responsibilities for the defence of Caen.

There is a lot of evidence that English ex-soldiers made Normandy their home. The story of Watkin Goodkin is just one example. John Milcent received grants in Caen in 1421. In 1436 he was a *lance à pied* when he styled himself 'bourgeois de Caen'. One of his property transactions involved renting the Hotel des Bachins to Martin Cappelain for 30 years; Milcent was confident that his family would still be in Normandy in 1462. Other Milcents, presumably a second generation, appear as archers in the Caen garrison from 1439. John Plommer 'dit Flechier' was an archer in the Caen garrison between 1436 and 1441. In 1444 he was living in Caen, presumably trading as a fletcher.

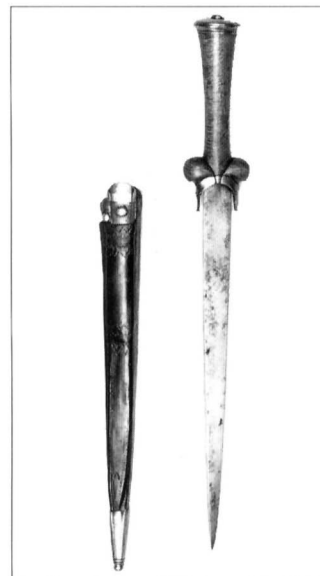
Marriage is another aspect of integration. On 14 September 1417, just ten days after the initial assault on Caen, Henry V gave John Convers permission to marry the daughter of Richard Caunet "of our town of Caen". Convers was later granted Caunet's house in Caen and all of his lands. Whether this is an example of love triumphing through the horrors of war or a cynical attempt to preserve the family property by marrying into the conquering English is not recorded.

TRAINING

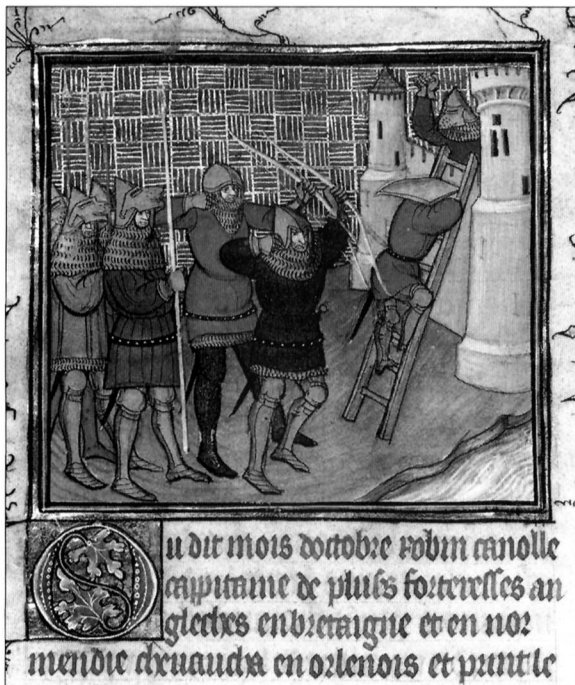
Military training of all adult males was both a social and a legal requirement and was carried out from an early age. There was no drill as we know it today, although there must have been some practice at keeping *lances* in close order for battles. Contemporary illustrations usually show archers or footmen or mounted knights in loose groups rather than ranks and files. Battle tactics were simple: the army was divided into three or four bodies, which then acted as a whole, with everybody following simple instructions – probably just 'loose', 'forward' or 'get them!'.



French rondel dagger, mid-15th century. (The Wallace Collection)



Flemish or North German ballock or kidney dagger, about 1550. (The Wallace Collection)



Well-armoured late-14th century archers besieging a castle. They are probably similar to early-15th century archers. (British Museum)

July 1434 watching a tournament at Le Mans, so tournaments can also be seen as holidays.

Lance

For the nobility, proficiency in the chivalric arms was a social necessity. For squires, military campaigns were ideal places to be noticed and knighted by a gracious king.

There was a military distinction between *lance à cheval* and *lance à pied*. As the majority of the army was mounted, the *lance à pied* would have a horse, but he lacked the correct type of horse, equipment and training to fight on a horse.

The quarterly muster rolls sometimes show that men were absent because they were attending jousts and tournaments. In the Caudebec garrison for September-December 1446, for example, eight *lances à cheval*, two *lances à pied* and six archers were absent – at jousts held at Pont de l'Arche. This would have been a competition, for which they would have trained at Caudebec. The *lances à chevaux* may have taken the other eight along as assistants, or there may have been separate competitions to test different military skills. Mondonnet de Baude is recorded as absent from Alençon between 30 June and 4

Archers

Archery really was the national sport in medieval England, and it was practised among all classes. (The last recorded sighting of the 'Princes in the Tower' in 1483 was when they were practising archery.) It was a skill which was passed on from father to son. In 1549 Bishop Latimer reminisced about his yeoman father teaching him archery: "In my time, my poor father was as diligent to teach me to shoot as to learn me any other thing, so I think did other men their children. He taught me how to draw, how to lay my body in the bow, and not to draw with the strength of my arms as other nations do, but with the strength of my body. I had



Ambler, with both left legs moving together to give a comfortable ride. (British Library Royal MS 2B VII f151G)

bows bought for me according to my age and strength; as I increased in them, so my bows were made bigger and bigger, for men never shoot well except that they be brought up with it.”

This also explains why sons are found to have followed their father as archers in the garrisons and successive English field armies.

There is no evidence of formal archery training, but one would assume that off-duty archers would set up a butt or lay out a piece of cloth in any open area and practise. Earthen butts (mounds) were used with simple targets placed on or in front of them. Alternatively, a piece of cloth on the ground was used to practise ‘clout’ shooting, with a near vertical delivery necessary for shooting at the French host in battle, where most archers could not see the front of the enemy.

IN BATTLE

Battles were uncommon events: Henry V was unusual in having fought in two battles in his short career. During the period covered here there were only eight major battles (nine including Agincourt) and two naval battles. These were concentrated in the first ten and last three years. The potentially huge charges brought about by battles explain why the French avoided them once they had re-learned the lessons of the 14th century.

There was no manual on how to conduct a battle, but there is sufficient common information to reconstruct the ‘typical’ battle, following a military tradition which evolved from the 14th century.

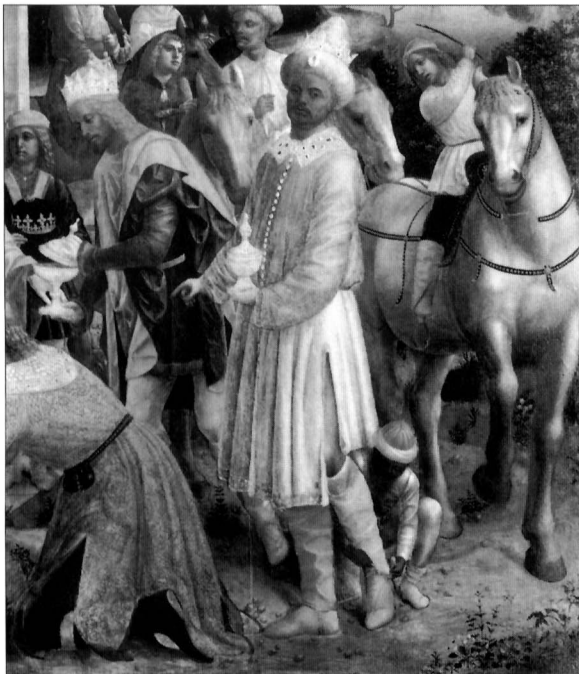
The English general would opt for a defensive position, where his archers could weaken the French before they came to blows with the English *lances*. The archers deployed on the flanks of the *lances*, probably inclining slightly forward, although the precise formation is subject to much debate. The archers defended themselves with stakes ‘in the English fashion’ (Waurin) at Agincourt, Valmont, Cravant, Verneuil or ditches at Formigny. Stakes would be arranged in a staggered fashion, not in a single line, so that the archers could pass through them.

Arrows were usually carried in bags (not quivers). In battle they are shown under the belt or in the ground. Arrowheads placed in the ground would pick up soil and rotting manure used as fertiliser on arable land, so any wound would quickly develop sepsis.

Religion was an important aspect of medieval life. Masses would be said in advance of a battle. Senior figures had a personal priest who would say a number of masses in private; the common soldiers would make do with one said by a priest hard pressed to minister to the whole army. Once in position for battle, they knelt, made the sign of the cross on the ground and kissed it.

The battle opened with an archery barrage on

Spurs from *The Adoration of the Kings* by Vincenzo Foppa (d. 1515).
(National Gallery)





Duc d'Orléans in the Tower of London. Orléans was captured at Agincourt and not released until 1440. It was hoped that he would create a pro-English pacification party within France but his time in England left him without political influence. Note the three guards with national liveries. (British Library MS 16 Fii f.73)

the commander's call – not 'fire' as no fire is involved in archery. At Agincourt this stung the French into action; at Verneuil it was a duel with Scottish archers; at Cravant it was the signal for the *lances* to advance under the barrage; at Formigny the duel was against French artillery. The archers would 'clout' shoot to drop the arrows on the enemies' heads. Arrows spin in flight, and the rushing wind over the fletchings makes a whistling noise. The demoralising effects of this visible and audible threat can only be speculated upon.

At Verneuil there were large numbers of Scottish archers, while at Formigny and Castillon there was a large artillery contingent. Here the English did not have a monopoly in archery, as at Agincourt: the archers had to face oncoming arrows and shot in order to shoot back. Waurin at Verneuil said that the archers "began to shot against each other so murderously that it was horrible to watch". The only way to win was to loose faster, harder and more accurately than the opposition; to grit their teeth and bear their own medicine. *Lances*, like Waurin, had no option but to bow their heads and hunch their shoulders, to overlap as many plates as possible, and wait for their moment.

The advance of the enemy *lances* came next (at Cravant and Verneuil the English advanced). Some historians have speculated that by this stage the archers would be short of arrows unless they had retrieved arrows from the dead and wounded or unless boys brought fresh supplies from the wagon park to the rear. This is because an archer only carried one or two sheaves of arrows (24 or 48 arrows) and they shot at a rate of ten per minute. The Skidmore indenture specified at least 40 arrows per archer, and the large conical bags seen in contemporary illustrations are capable of carrying 40 arrows. Ten arrows per minute is not an unreasonable rate: modern re-enactor archers can shoot up to 24 arrows in a minute with high poundage bows. However, at long range, this speed of shooting would be wasteful, and shooting in volleys is slower than shooting individually.

For all their efforts, the archers never prevented the French from reaching the English *lances*. At Agincourt the English were pushed back the length of a spear, at Valmont and Patay the French broke through the English lines. The English *lances* were always heavily outnumbered by the French. The archer's task was to reduce this disparity by killing and wounding the French and disorganising them. This reduced their impact, as the French shied away from the archers. At Agincourt it had the effect of crushing the French together, so they did not have enough room to wield their weapons.

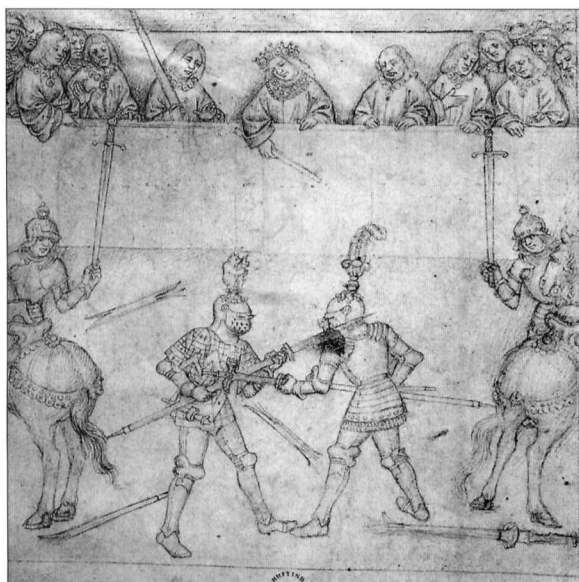
Once the *mêlée* was joined, there was no place for arrows. The archers dropped their bows and drew their swords. They joined the battle on the French flanks. The French *lances* would still be carrying their primary weapon – a staff weapon of some kind – and were much better protected than the archers so there was little to fear from a single archer. However, the majority (more than three quarters) of the English army was now being unleashed on the flanks of the French army, which

would give the English a local numerical superiority. At Verneuil it was the reserve archers from the baggage park acting this way which swung the battle for the English.

An analogy could be drawn with other medieval pastimes like bull baiting, where smaller animals drew strength in their numbers to worry a larger foe until it tired. If the French *lance* could keep the archers at bay with his staff weapon, he was safe. If he slipped or tired, it offered a quick archer the opportunity to dash in and stab at an exposed area. Once the *lance's* guard was dropped, the archers could swarm over him and despatch him through one of the weak points in his armour (the visor, groin or arm pits). In this way the English archers were able to relieve the pressure on their own lances.

This stage of the battle was also the most vulnerable time for the archers. If French reinforcements caught the archers in the open, they would lose their local numerical superiority and, as light infantry, they were no match for French *lances*. This is what happened at Formigny, when Richemont arrived during the battle to reinforce Clermont, who was in the *mêlée* and hard pressed by the English.

Military training in the tournament. Although this piece is from the late-15th century, it ironically shows great bascinets used in the 1440s, though by this date they had been relegated to foot combat only. Training like this must have gone on in the garrisons although there is no evidence for it. There is more evidence of organised competitions (which also provided entertainment) so there would have been informal practice in advance. (British Library MS Cotton Julius E IV f.7v)



THE NAVY

North European ships were clinker-built. This technique used overlapping planks to provide the main load-bearing structure and the light frame was added later. The cog was a flat-bottomed variation which provided the main carrying capacity. Normally there was a single mast with one rectangular sail, wider than it was deep, which could be manipulated by 'sailyards' to manoeuvre the vessel.

Galleys and carracks dominated the Mediterranean. These used a heavy frame to support the load and planks were nailed flush onto the frame, which gave a smoother appearance and made maintenance easier. Galleys used two masts with triangular lateen sails, which were better for sailing into the wind but less efficient when the wind was astern. They were also propelled by oars.

From the 1290s until 1419 a French royal dockyard at Clos des Galees, Rouen, maintained a fleet of galleys. Shipwrights from southern France were employed because the Mediterranean technology did not spread among the north French shipwrights. When a number of galleys were captured by the English in 1416 and 1417, Venetian shipwrights were employed to maintain them. Even so, two galleys sank at anchor in 1420 and another two were beached in 1421 to avoid a similar fate.

English shipwrights worked to the very limit of their technology. Between 1413 and 1420 four of the largest ships in northern Europe were

6 I. Friel, 'Winds of Change? Ships and the Hundred Years War', in A. Curry and M. Hughes (eds.), *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War* (Woodbridge 1994)



Great helm used in jousting to give the rider maximum protection. The protection offered to the wearer was at the expense of visibility so although they are shown being worn at jousts, they are not shown being worn in battle. (The Wallace Collection)

constructed in England: the *Trinity Royal* (540 tons); the *Holigost* (740 tons); the *Jesus* (1,000 tons); and the *Grace Dieu* (1,400 tons). These were intended to counter the Genoese carracks employed by the French in the Channel, which were about 400-600 tons and much larger than most English ships at the time.

The first three 'great ships' operated in the Channel in 1416 and 1417, and it is no coincidence that seven of the eight carracks captured at that time were in engagements which included the 'great ships'.

The *Grace Dieu* was a white elephant. She was not ready until 1420 and her maiden voyage ended in mutiny and fiasco off the Isle of Wight. She was moored in the River Hamble, where in 1439 she was struck by lightning and burnt out. The *Grace Dieu* was the first English ship with three masts.

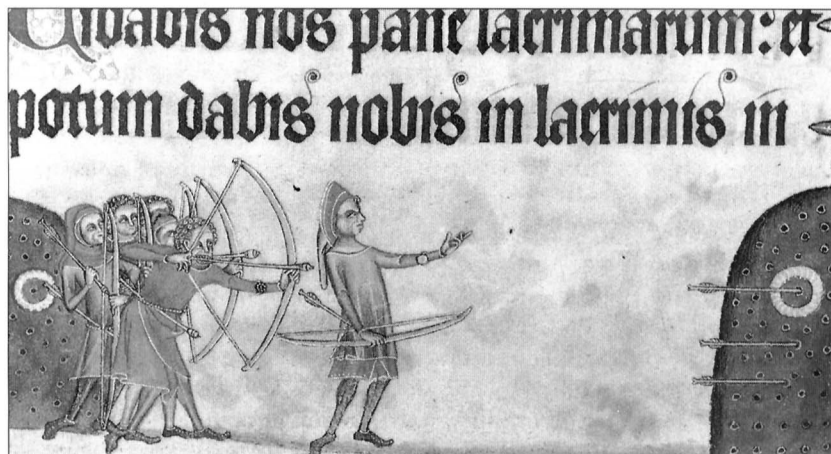
The royal fleet was insufficient to meet all the needs of the war and merchant men were pressed into service. (Their owners were paid 3s 4d per ton per quarter.) In 1415 a total of 1,500 ships were required, and even in 1449 and 1450 the reinforcements required for France were 62 and 81 ships respectively.

For war, all ships gained fore-, middle- (crow's nest) and aft-castles. These wooded structures provided fighting platforms and additional height to counter the larger carracks and galleys. Artillery could be added, but it had limited use. Of the 30 or so fighting ships involved in the fighting of 1416 and 1417, only 15 carried artillery, and they had 42 pieces between them. The most heavily gunned ship was the *Holigost*, with just seven guns.

The limited role given to artillery was because the naval tactics involved boarding enemy ships and capturing them in a vicious hand-to-hand battle, with no retreat for the defeated party.

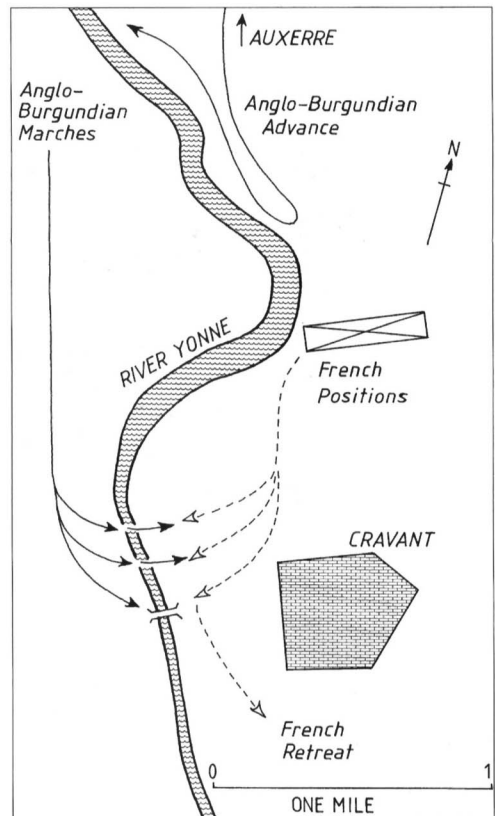
Naval forces were raised by indentures. Sir John Speke was to serve at sea for six months from 26 May 1440 with 140:280 to assist in the

Longbowmen practising, from the *Luttrell Psalter*. This shows fashions from the 1430's, but the butts were common across England at least until the 16th century, and would have been recreated by the garrisons in France. The unusual stance of the shooter is probably what Bishop Latimer meant when he said that he had been taught to shoot with the strength of his body. (British Library Add. MS. 42130 f.147v)



siege of Harfleur. The soldiers were to receive a quarter's pay on their indenture, another quarter on their muster and any remainder after three months' service. Earlier captains such as Edmund, Earl of March, "skimmed the sea" in search of the French, which resulted in the two naval battles off Harfleur. The indentures also dictated the areas to be patrolled, the length of time which could be spent in harbour (usually one day and night to take on supplies unless there was bad weather) and the division of bounties.

On Henry V's death the entire coastline of northern France was held by England or her allies. The royal fleet of 30 ships had become an unnecessary expense now that the French had no bases from which to threaten Channel shipping or southern England. In his will, Henry ordered the fleet to be sold off to pay off his debts. The defection of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy to the French and the French capture of Dieppe in 1435-36 reopened the Channel to French ships. The *Libelle of Englyshe Polycye* is an attack on this naval policy, which exposed England to French raids, as in the 1370s. The Council's response was to concentrate on the recapture of Dieppe. Although Dieppe was never recaptured, the anticipated raids on England did not occur until 1457.



ARTILLERY

Henry V was an expert in siege warfare. He had learned his skills in Wales, where holding castles was essential to controlling the inhospitable terrain and making the rebels reluctant to risk a battle. This period also saw many innovations in artillery which made possible Charles VIII's 1494 invasion of Italy.

In 1415 artillery was still primarily used to fire *into* the town. At Harfleur, Henry "plaid at tenys with them that were in the toune" until "really fine buildings, almost as far as the middle of the town, were either totally demolished or threatened with inevitable collapse". This was the 14th century use of artillery, as at Calais in 1346, in which "Gonnors to schew their art/Into the town in many a part/Schot many a full great stone".

Starvation was the main tool in siege warfare. Rouen resisted for six months between 31 July 1418 and 19 January 1419, even though the town "was battered severely, within and without, because the English had there so many large bombards". In the end, however, Rouen was starved into submission. This situation was repeated elsewhere: in 1418 Cherbourg was starved out after seven months; and Chateau Gaillard surrendered after six months, when the ropes on the wells wore out.

Changes were beginning to occur. At Harfleur Henry also fired at the walls and wooden bulwarks. He may have been attempting to silence the defending artillery there rather than to create a breach to storm – as became the norm later. By the 1420s a number of places were surrendering not because of starvation but because they were no longer defensible. Le

Cravant, 1423. After initially approaching the French defensive position, the Anglo-Burgundian army withdrew and approached from the west. The French changed their position accordingly. On 29 July, under an archery barrage, the Anglo-Burgundians assaulted the river and bridge simultaneously. After a vicious fight the Franco-Scottish army retreated leaving 1,200 dead. (David Nicolle PhD)

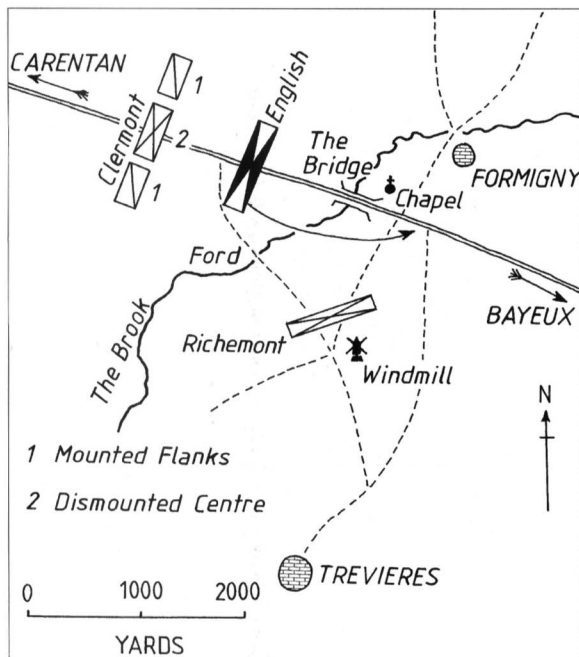


**Visored bascinet, north Italian
c. 1390, with mail aventail.
(IV.470 The Board of Trustees,
Royal Armouries)**

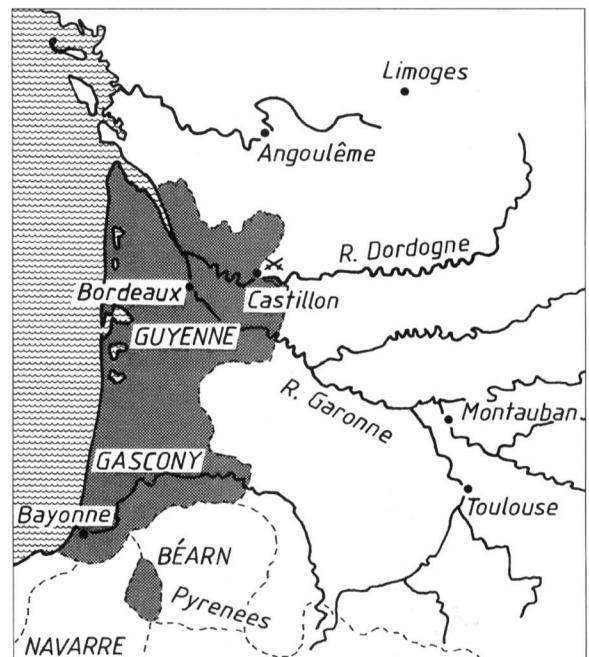
Mans, Sainte-Suzanne, Mayenne-la-Juhez, Montmiral and Gallardon all fell in this way in 1423. At Sainte-Suzanne, the Earl of Salisbury “had nine large bombards and many large cannon and fowlers sited and set up. These bombards and cannons, after eight or ten days, began to fire incessantly, day and night, so that they beat down the walls of the said town from more than a bow-shot away.” Starvation remained as a method of resolving sieges: Harfleur resisted the English (again) in 1440 for six months.

In 1450 Laseur described the French preparations before the siege of Dax, which closely follows many of the aspects of English siege tactics:

“The watch ordered and set, our prince sent for a force of pioneers and miners, who, all night long, he had make broad approaches and deep ditches and trenches, set up his artillery, and put the protective mantles there; and he was so diligent that the said artillery was ready to fire at dawn. And in the same way my lord the prince made huts by filling the wickerwork and faggots with earth, in the manner of a broad mound, to shelter the watch from the artillery of the town; and the trenches were so advanced the next day that one could go safely under cover from one quarter of the siege to another, and in the same way one could come by the same approaches to the artillery, and even up to their fosses. And always, day and night, the said pioneers worked on them ... Furthermore, the large artillery was fired assiduously day and night. Inside of a few days it had done great damage, so that the defences of the towers ... and a great part of the forward walls were thrown to the ground; and our said artillery made large and wide breaches there, over which watch was held; and we fired the large culverines at these, so that, when the enemy



ABOVE, LEFT **Formigny, 1450.** Sir Thomas Kyriell's army held off successive attacks by Clermont until the French brought up two cannon. The English attacked and captured the cannon in a *mêlée*. When Constable Richemont appeared, Clermont broke off the attack in preparation for a combined attack. Kyriell reformed on a new semi-circular position, which prevented his archers from concentrating their



shooting, in order to receive attacks from two flanks simultaneously. The English were systematically cut down where they stood as the combined French forces swung in for the kill. There were 3,774 English dead from an army of just over 4,000. (David Nicolle PhD)

ABOVE, RIGHT **Gascony, 1444.**

wished to make shelters or otherwise repair them, our culverines often killed or wounded their men and knocked them down to the ground, them and their shelters."

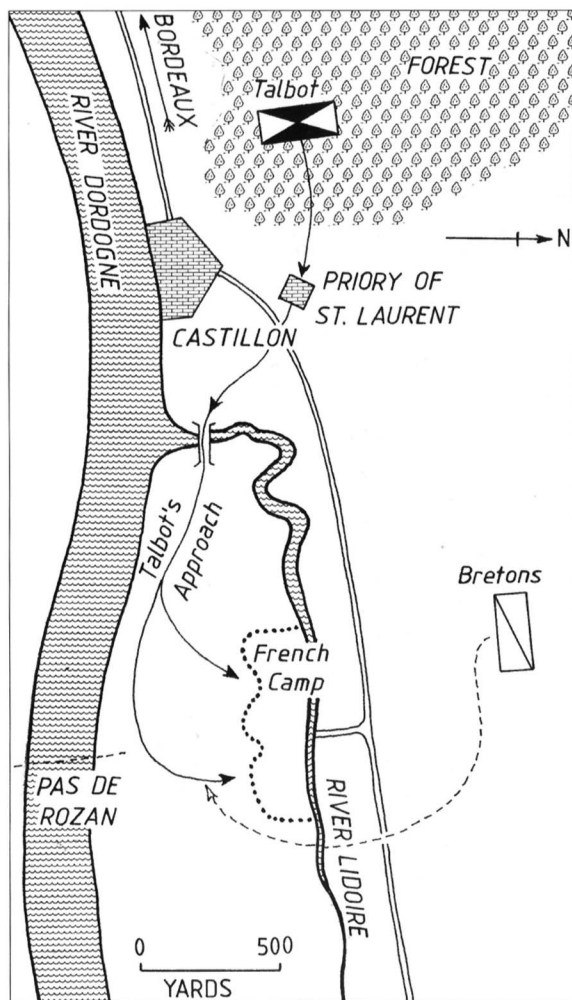
Artillery innovations ⁷

In 1400 bombards had an average barrel length between one and one-and-a-half times the diameter of the ball. A complicated loading procedure required that 60 per cent of the barrel was filled with powder, 20 per cent be left empty and a wooden plug then be added for the ball to rest upon. Finally wet mud was applied to seal the ball and prevent a pressure loss through windage. The barrel had to cool between each shot. This long procedure permitted about three shots per day.

By about 1430 barrel lengths were three times the diameter or more. The ball spent longer inside the barrel so the muzzle velocity was greatly increased. Since kinetic energy increases at the square of the velocity, this greatly increased the efficiency, particularly in range. The mud seal was no longer required, so the rate of fire increased.

Artillery became more affordable through improved production methods for iron. The bombard 'Bedford' weighed 8,000lb and worked out at 3.3d per lb, which compares well with a 14th century average of 4d per lb. Iron artillery was being introduced, and in 1417 the Duke of

⁷ C. Rogers, 'Military Revolutions of the Hundred Years War', *Journal of Military History*, LVII number 2 (1993)



Castillon, 1453. At dawn, a surprise attack defeated a French force at a priory. Scouts reported mounted troops fleeing the main French camp (these were squires with horses to make space for the troops from the priory). Talbot decided to attack the longest side to allow his troops time to deploy fully. The English attacked an earthen rampart bristling with artillery, but despite this still managed to reach the French defensive works before being beaten back with heavy losses. Another force of Bretons arrived to attack the English right wing, which broke up the momentum of their attack and resulted in a catastrophic English defeat. (David Nicolle PhD)



The Mathew, a reconstructed late-15th century cog. This is a multi-mast vessel, which were being built in England in the middle of the period. The ship is built on lines similar to the ships in the *Warwick Pageant*. For war, fore- and aft-castles would reinforce the bow and stern for the soldiers.

Burgundy bought an iron cannon capable of throwing a 20lb stone.

From around 1372 the English were 'corning' their powder: mixing the constituents wet and drying them, rather than shifting, as in 'serpentine' powder.

Corned powder did not separate out in transport, unlike serpentine powder, and it was claimed to be three times as powerful. This increased power could burst the breach, so less saltpetre was used, which made the powder cheaper. This technique was in use on the Continent from around 1410.

The French artillery

In 1440 Charles VII appointed Jean and Gaspard Bureau as Treasurer and Master of Artillery of France respectively. Two years later France was spending twice as much on artillery as on all other war materiel. Under the Bureau brothers, light and mobile artillery was deployed with field armies. At Formigny and Castillon artillery made an impact on the battlefield for the first time. The French finally had a field weapon which could match the English longbow.

In 1494 Charles VIII invaded Italy using tactics which had first been employed in Normandy and Gascony. Harfleur, which had twice resisted the English for many months, fell after 17 days in 1449; Bayeux's walls were rendered indefensible in 16 days in 1450. A contemporary list gives 100 English towns which fell in 1450 due to the use or threat of French artillery. In 1451 Gascony fell equally as quickly.

THE PLATES

A: ON BOARD SHIP, C.1410s

This plate shows English soldiers somewhere in the English Channel in the 1410s. They are to act as marines to drive French ships out of the Channel and protect the shipping lanes. Naval indentures specified 1:2 lances to archers, while the army at this time used 1:3.

A1 This knight wears an early 15th century armour from the funeral effigy of William Wilcotes (died 1411). Across the forehead is 'Jesus of Nazareth', and 'Jesus' is repeated at the top of the scabbard. The 'Jesus' (or *IHS*) logo is common on funeral effigies, although I have not seen it on a contemporary illustration of a 'living' figure. It may represent a devotional act rather than a military style. He wears the 'SS' collar of the House of Lancaster. The enamelled waist belt held the sword as well as the dagger in the 14th century. By the 15th century the sword was suspended from a leather sword belt crossing diagonally from the opposite hip. Here both styles of belt are in use. He carries a pollaxe as his primary weapon.

A2 & A3 These archers also follow 14th century style. The older man is better equipped, probably a veteran of Henry V's Welsh campaigns. He has acquired cuisses, poleyns and greaves for his legs and a bascinet and aventail. The younger archer, currently being sick overboard, wears a cheaper helmet of small metal plates attached to an inner frame over a mail hood or coif. Most French sources show the cross of St. George worn directly onto a garment, not onto a separate white garment. The jacks are 14th century styles. Both men wear swords at their side with bucklers hanging from the grip. Close by are their bows and arrows in soft bags that were used for storage and carrying.

B: BATTLE OF BAUGÉ, 1421

In 1421 Thomas, Duke of Clarence, was Henry V's heir presumptive and commander of the English forces in France. Clarence had not fought at Agincourt which probably explains his impetuosity to go on the offensive here. Hearing about a French force at Baugé he rode out after it without waiting for his archers. The glory which he had sought since 1415 cost him, and many others, their lives. Although Baugé did not adversely affect the English position, Clarence's death was a major blow to English morale and ended the myth of English invincibility.

B1 Shows Clarence as a *lance à cheval* based upon his funeral effigy at Canterbury Cathedral. The mail aventail has been encased in a plate so the beaver was additional to the aventail, rather than replacing it. A visor has been added with a rounded snout. His primary weapon is the heavy lance which would be supported in the charge by an *arrête* by the right arm pit. The blue and white colour was adopted by the House of Lancaster, as was the fox's' brush tied to the tip. The heraldic trappings worn by Clarence and his mount identify Clarence as a member of the English royal family, and his brother's claim to the throne of France. Henry V's order to wear the red cross was unlikely to be extended to the nobility

who were personally identifiable by their coat-of-arms. Clarence's mount is a *destrier* or charger. He wears a chanfron to protect his face and would also have a mail or plate bard for defence. The high wooden saddle and long stirrup leathers means that the rider is standing up in the saddle.

B2 The standard bearer carries Clarence's rectangular banner to identify his position to everyone in battle. He is well armoured as befits the attendant of a royal duke, and also because he would have difficulty in defending himself. His primary weapon is his sword, but this would be for self-defence only – and would have been needed at Baugé to defend the banner. The wide brim of the kettle helmet is designed to deflect overhead blows and arrows. With it is a mail hood. He rides an unarmed ambler. The horse has been trained to walk with the legs on one side then the other, rather than diagonal legs, to give a more comfortable ride. This is the type of horse which would have been used by *lances à pied* who fought dismounted.

C: ARTILLERY CREW, C. 1410s

For all the attention battles attract, in reality they achieved less than the sieges. Only by capturing towns could territory be secured, and for Henry V the occupation of Normandy was his paramount objective.

The work of the artillery crews was essential, but as with the archers, few records remain. These artillerymen follow the 14th century style of defensive garments and are similar to the archers in appearance. They carry weapons, but only for self defence.

These soldiers are relaxed, as if during a period of truce; if the town was not relieved, it would surrender. The town is still smouldering but the walls are largely intact, which follows the tactic of firing into the town to force a submission rather than creating a breach to storm. The crew is preparing breakfast. Henry V is quoted as saying: "War without fire is like sausage without mustard"; our artilleryman is hoping that they still have some mustard left.

The artillery piece is a bombard, the workhorse of siege warfare for much of the late 14th and 15th centuries. They were transported on wagons at a very slow pace which limited the speed of armies. A surviving example is *Mons Meg* at Edinburgh Castle

D: THE MINES

Mining was another important aspect of siege warfare. By undermining a tower in the wall, a platform for defensive fire could be destroyed and a breach created. If the tower fell into the town, additional damage could be inflicted on the townspeople. The importance of mining is shown by the inclusion of miners in the 1415 army. Henry was very interested in mining and visited them on at least one occasion when he had to fight with a French raiding party. No details of the mines survive, but they were probably similar to those of the First World War – hot and wet, with sound being the only way to detect the enemy.

Counter-mines were used by the French to intercept the English mines and destroy them. The French counter-mine (above) has discovered an English mine. The ensuing fight in the poor candlelight (which would probably quickly be

knocked out) would probably be very brief but intense, with a high risk of killing your own colleagues.

E: EARLY LANCES

E1 Shows a 14th century *lance* with the houndskull visor attached to his bascinet. This style would still have been used in 1416. He wears a loose garment without any heraldic devices which may simply serve to protect the armour from the weather. The lance would have been replaced with a pollaxe for dismounted fighting.

E2 John Leventhorpe (d.1423) was Receiver of the Duchy of Lancaster. The Duchy estates stretched throughout England and Wales and were an important source of revenue for the Crown. As Receiver, Leventhorpe was responsible for the collection of this revenue which was essential for funding the war. He may also have been involved in recruiting soldiers directly from the Duchy estates. By 1420, the mail had disappeared from view beneath the plate bevor and more lames of the fauld, and the bascinet had adopted the more rounded appearance of the latter sallet. Despite these changes, the body still has the smooth lines and hour glass figure of the armour seen in plate A.

E3 Thomas Montague, Earl of Salisbury (d. 1428) advocated a policy of crossing the Loire in pursuit of the Dauphin, Charles. It was during the siege of Orléans to secure the crossing that Salisbury was killed by French artillery fire. This blow to the English coincided with the arrival of Joan of Arc and marked the high watermark of English success. He wears a similar armour to Leventhorpe but without the tassets and with a two-piece breastplate. This highlights the problems of determining the development of armours. The appearance of two-piece breastplate and the tassets are part of the development from the late 14th century style of plate A, to the later 15th century styles seen in plate F. This was not a linear progression from one to the other.

F: LATER LANCES

F1 William Phillip, Lord Bardolf (d. 1441) wears a fine armour complete with small tassets (as in E2), two-piece breastplate (as in E3) and both horizontal and diagonal belts (as in A1). Note the pronounced chest when compared with the later armour in F3. He wears the SS collar and the garter as a Knight of the Garter, as befits Henry VI's chamberlain. The orle is highly decorated and, as with A1, there are religious mottos across his forehead and scabbard.

F2 Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (d. 1439) was Henry VI's tutor and lieutenant of France from July 1437 until his death in April 1439. He wears an armour which would not look out of place in the Wars of the Roses of the late 15th century, although this may be due to the late construction of his funeral effigy. The faulds have receded and there are now large tassets; the pauldrons and couters have grown in size and the whole armour is showing gothic fluting. On his right breast is an *arrête* to support the weight of the lance.

F3 Sir John Cressy (d. 1445) was a captain in France where he died. His muster roll of 26 March 1441 (see page 5) is one page which lists him at the head of his company. He wears an armour which falls between F1 and F2. He wears the

faulds and tassets of F2 but the breastplate and couters of F1. He does wear pauldrons but they are much less exaggerated than those in F2. His funeral effigy shows him without any form of helmet, but he was probably wearing a sallet by this time.

G: UNIFORMS AND CAMOUFLAGE

G1 When Henry V ordered the red Cross of St. George to be worn, there was no reference to the white background. Most 15th century illustrations show the Cross worn directly onto a breastplate or another garment, but they are absent in 14th century illustrations. This archer is based upon a 15th century illustration in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

G2 This illustration shows the English guard in the Tower of London guarding the duc d'Orléans. He is unarmoured, which may indicate the normal level of dress for guards in the more quiet parts of Normandy. He wears the red on white national livery. It is not clear at what date these entered into common usage.

G3 At dawn on 13 February 1437 John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury surprised and captured Pontoise. His army had reached the walls by crossing the frozen river Oise in the night camouflaged with sheets and blankets, and then scaled the walls. This archer wears an open faced sallet and riding boots which would have been used as much to keep his feet out of the snow. His spurs have been removed for a dismounted operation.

H: THE LOSS OF NORMANDY 1449-1450

H1 The archers were very well equipped and largely mounted by this time. This archer wears a visored sallet and a mail shirt under a brigandine. His riding boots have been folded down to accommodate his leg armour. He carries an earthenware costrell (waterbottle). His primary weapon is still the longbow but he also carries a fine sword and buckler. Across his back is a trumpet. This archer may be a Norman employed as a *trompette* whose duties would include treating with the French forces.

H2 John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury (d.1453) spent three decades in France and received his earldom for his service. He appears as one of the most energetic commanders in France, but by 1450 even he accepted the futility of continued opposition. He wears a tabard which had replaced the earlier tight fitting jupon. Despite being captured in 1450, Talbot was one of the few commanders to escape with his reputation intact. As part of the terms of his release, Talbot promised never to bear arms or wear armour against Charles VII – a promise which he kept at Castillon in 1453.

H3 Lightly armoured billmen first appeared in France at the end of the period. He wears an open faced sallet and a mail shirt under a smooth Milanese-style breastplate, faulds and tassets. His primary weapon is the bill with edges designed for thrusting, overhead blows and a curved blade for hooking onto opponents, or cutting the back of the leg which was unarmoured (see H1).

GLOSSARY

Bailliage: Norman local administrative unit

Bailli: the official appointed to the *bailliage*, usually French

Ban/Arrière Ban: French feudal military obligations

Chambre des Comptes: the office of the Norman administration responsible for paying permanent units serving in Normandy and the *creus*, but not the companies raised in England

Chevauchée: the 14th century English tactic of raiding across France to force the French into an open battle; not used in this period, although the 1415 march to Calais was similar, but without the destructiveness

Clout: lit. cloth, a style of archery where a piece of cloth on the ground was shot at with a high trajectory; also used in battle

Indenture: a contract which detailed the terms and conditions of service

Lance: man-at-arms, either foot (*à pied*) or mounted (*à cheval*)

Pays de Conquete: lit. the conquered lands; English possessions in France outside of Normandy

Vicomte: one of seven divisions in Normandy composed of *bailliages*; the official, usually English, who was appointed to it was concerned with law and order

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Notes sur les planches en couleur

A1 Ce chevalier porte une armure du début du XVe siècle copiée sur l'effigie funéraire de William Wilcotes (mort en 1411). Sur le front, on lit "Jésus de Nazareth" et "Jésus" est répété en haut du fourreau. Il porte le col "SS" de la Maison de Lancaster. La ceinture émaillée servait à retenir l'épée et le poignard au XVe siècle. Son arme principale est une hache d'armes. **A2 & A3** Ces archers sont également du XVe siècle. Le plus âgé est mieux équipé, c'est sans doute un ancien combattant des campagnes galloises d'Henri V. Il a acquis des cuisses, des genouillères et des grèves pour se protéger les jambes, ainsi qu'un bascinet et un aventail. L'archer plus jeune, que nous voyons ici en train de vomir par-dessus bord, porte un casque moins coûteux constitué de petites plaques de métal rattachées à une structure interne, par-dessus une cagoule de mailles ou calotte. Près d'eux, leurs arcs et flèches se trouvent dans des sacoches souples qui étaient utilisées comme rangement et pour le transport.

B1 Représente Clarence sous les traits d'un lancier à cheval, d'après son effigie funéraire à la cathédrale de Cantorbéry. L'aventail en mailles a été enchâssé dans une plaque, qui fait que la mentonnière était en plus de l'aventail au lieu de la remplacer. L'étendard bleu et blanc fut adopté par la Maison de Lancaster, tout comme la queue de renard attachée au bout du mât. La monture de Clarence est un destrier ou cheval de bataille. **B2** Le porte-étendard porte la bannière rectangulaire de Clarence afin d'indiquer sa position à tous ceux qui participent à la bataille. Il est bien protégé par une armure, comme il se doit pour le serviteur d'un duc royal, mais aussi parce qu'il lui est difficile de se défendre. Son arme principale est une épée.

C Cette équipe prépare le petit déjeuner. La pièce d'artillerie est un bombard, véritable base des sièges à la fin du XVe et au XVe siècle. On les transportait dans des chars, très lentement, ce qui limitait le rythme de progression des armées.

D Les mines intéressaient beaucoup Henri et il leur rendit visite à une reprise au moins, lorsqu'il dut se battre avec un raid français. Le contre-minier français (ci-dessus) a découvert une mine anglaise. Le combat qui s'ensuivit, à la lumière bien faible des flambeaux (qui étaient sûrement renversés très vite), fut sans doute très court mais intense, et il y avait beaucoup de risques de tuer ses propres collègues.

E1 dépeint un lancier du XVe siècle. La visière pointue "houndskull" ("tête de cochon") est rattachée à son bascinet. Ce style était toujours utilisé en 1416. Il porte un vêtement ample, sans aucune décoration héraldique, qui sert peut-être simplement à protéger son armure des éléments.

E2 John Leventhorpe (mort en 1423) était le Receveur du Duché de Lancaster. En 1420, la maille avait disparu sous la mentonnière à plates et les lamelles supplémentaires de la braconnière, et le bascinet avait adopté l'apparence plus arrondie de la salade plus récente. **E3** Thomas Montague, comte de Salisbury (mort en 1428). Il porte une armure similaire à celle de Leventhorpe, mais sans la braconnière et avec un plastron en deux pièces. Ceci souligne les problèmes que l'on rencontre dans l'historique du développement des armures.

F1 porte une belle armure à petite braconnière (comme E2), un plastron en deux pièces (comme E3) et des ceintures horizontales et diagonales (comme A1). L'essorier est richement décoré et, comme pour A1, on remarque des devises religieuses sur le front et sur le fourreau. **F2** Il porte une armure qui serait tout à fait à sa place dans la Guerre des Roses de la fin du XVe siècle, mais ceci pourrait provenir de la construction tardive de son effigie funéraire. Sur sa poitrine, à droite, remarquez l'arrête qui soutient le poids de la lance. **F3** Il porte la braconnière de F2, mais le plastron et les cubitières de F1. Il porte bien des épaulières, mais elles sont beaucoup moins exagérées que celles de F2.

G1 Lorsqu'Henri V ordonna le port de la Croix de saint Georges, aucune référence ne fut faite au fond blanc. Sur la plupart des illustrations du XVe siècle, la Croix est portée directement sur le plastron ou un autre vêtement, mais ces derniers sont absents dans les illustrations du XVe. **G2** Cette illustration dépeint le garde anglais de la Tour de Londres, qui garde le Duc d'Orléans. Il ne porte pas d'armure, ce qui pourrait donner une idée du type d'uniforme normal des gardes dans les régions les plus calmes de Normandie. Il porte la livrée nationale rouge sur blanc. **G3** Cet archer porte une salade ouverte et des bottes de cheval, qui servaient autant à cheval que pour protéger ses pieds de la neige.

H1 Cet archer porte une salade à visière et une cotte de mailles sous une brigandine. Il a retrouvé ses bottes de cheval pour pouvoir porter son armure. Il porte une gourde ou "costrell" en terre. Son arme principale est toujours un arc, mais il porte aussi une belle épée et un écu. Il a aussi une trompette sur le dos, en bandoulière. **H2** John Talbot, comte de Shrewsbury (mort en 1453) passa trente ans en France et fut récompensé pour ses services par son titre de comte. Il porte un tabard, qui remplace le jupon ajusté porté auparavant. **H3** Des hallebardiers portant une armure légère apparurent pour la première fois en France à la fin de la période. Il porte une salade ouverte et une cotte de mailles sous un plastron lisse et une braconnière de style milanais.

Farbtafeln

A1 Dieser Ritter trägt eine Rüstung aus dem frühen 15. Jahrhundert, die auf dem Begräbnisbildnis von William Wilcotes (1411 verstorben) zu sehen ist. Über der Stirn erscheint der Schriftzug 'Jesus von Nazareth', das Wort 'Jesus' ist am oberen Ende der Degenscheide wiederholt. Er trägt den 'SS'-Kragen des Hauses Lancaster. Am emaillierten Leibriemen waren im 14. Jahrhundert sowohl das Schwert als auch der Dolch befestigt. Seine Hauptwaffe ist die Streitaxt. **A2 & A3** Die Aufmachung dieser Bogenschützen entspricht ebenfalls dem Stil des 14. Jahrhunderts. Der Ältere ist besser ausgerüstet; es handelt es sich wahrscheinlich um einen Veteranen aus den walisischen Feldzügen Heinrich V. Zum Schutz der Beine hat er Diechlinge, Kniebuckel und Beinröhren, darüber hinaus verfügt er über eine Helmglocke und ein Kinnreiff. Der jüngere Bogenschütze, der sich gerade übergeben muß, trägt einen billigeren Helm, der aus Metallplatten besteht, die an einer Kettenkapuze bzw. -haube befestigt sind. In der Nähe sieht man die Bogen und Pfeile der Männer. Sie sind in weichen Taschen verstaut, die zur Aufbewahrung und als Tragetaschen benutzt wurden.

B1 Die Abbildung zeigt Clarence als lance à cheval und beruht auf seinem Begräbnisbildnis in der Canterbury Cathedral. Das Kettenkinnreiff wurde von einer Platte umschlossen, so daß das Kinnreiff zusätzlich zum Mundschutz vorhanden war anstatt diesen zu ersetzen. Die Farben blau-weiß wurden vom Haus Lancaster übernommen, ebenso der Fuchsschwanz, der an der Spitze befestigt war. Clarence's Pferd ist ein Dienstpferd bzw. Schlachtopfer. **B2** Der Standartenenträger führt das rechteckige Banner von Clarence mit, um in der Schlacht allen seine Position erkenntlich zu machen. Er ist gut gerüstet, wie es sich für den Gefolgsmann eines königlichen Herzogs geziemt. Ein weiterer Grund dafür ist die Tatsache, daß er sich nur schlecht würde verteidigen können. Seine Hauptwaffe ist sein Schwert.

C Die Mannschaft bereitet gerade das Frühstück zu. Die Artillerie bestand damals aus einem Wurfgeschütz, das bei Belagerungen Ende des 14. und im 15. Jahrhundert meistens zum Einsatz kam. Diese Geschütze wurden auf Wagen transportiert, was sehr langsam vor sich ging und die Geschwindigkeit der Heerbewegung beschränkte.

D König Heinrich interessierte sich sehr für den Bergbau und stattete den Gruben mindestens einmal einen Besuch ab, als er mit einem französischen Überfalltrupp kämpfen mußte. Mitglieder des französischen Gegenangriffs (oben) hatten eine englische Grube entdeckt. Der anschließende Kampf bei schwachem Kerzenlicht (das wahrscheinlich schon bald verlöschte) war vermutlich sehr kurz aber heftig, und es bestand das große Risiko, die eigenen Kameraden zu töten.

E1 Die Abbildung zeigt einen Lanzenkämpfer aus dem 14. Jahrhundert. An seiner Helmglocke ist das 'Houndskull'-Visier angebracht. Dieser Stil war 1416 noch gebräuchlich. Er trägt ein loses Bekleidungsstück ohne heraldische Zier, das vermutlich lediglich dazu diente, die Rüstung vor dem Wetter zu schützen. **E2** John Leventhorpe (1423 gest.) war 'Receiver' des Herzogtums Lancaster. 1420 sah man unter dem Platten-Kinnreiff und dem Kehlstück mit zahlreichen Lamellen keine Kettenmaschen mehr. Die Helmglocke wies inzwischen die runderere Form des späteren 'Sallet'-Helms auf. **E3** Thomas Montague, Earl von Salisbury (1428 gest.). Er trägt eine ähnliche Rüstung wie Leventhorpe, allerdings ohne die Bauchreifen und mit einer zweiteiligen Brustplatte. Hieran zeigt sich, welche Probleme sich bei der Ermittlung der Entwicklung von Rüstungen stellten.

F1 Die Abbildung zeigt eine schöne Rüstung mit kleinen Bauchreifen (wie in E2), einer zweiteiligen Brustplatte (wie in E3). Außerdem weist sie sowohl waagrechte als auch diagonale Riemen auf (wie in A1). Der Rand ist reich verziert und wie bei A1 erscheinen religiöse Mottos über der Stirn und auf der Degenscheide. **F2** Diese Figur trägt eine Rüstung, die in den Rosenkriegen des späten 15. Jahrhunderts nicht fehl am Platz gewesen wäre, doch könnte dies auch auf die späte Anfertigung seines Begräbnisbildnisses zurückzuführen sein. Auf der rechten Brustseite befindet sich eine Halterung, die das Gewicht der Lanze stützte. **F3** Diese Figur weist die gleichen Kehlstücke und Bauchreifen wie F2 auf, aber das Bruststück und die Armkacheln entsprechen der Abbildung F1. Seine Rüstung weist zwar Vorderflüge auf, doch sind diese weniger ausgebildet als die auf der Abbildung F2.

G1 Als Heinrich V. den Befehl zum Tragen des roten 'Cross of St. George' gab, wurde auf den weißen Hintergrund nicht verwiesen. Die meisten Darstellungen aus dem 15. Jahrhundert zeigen das Kreuz unmittelbar auf einem Bruststück oder einem anderen Bekleidungsstück; in Darstellungen aus dem 14. Jahrhundert fehlen sie ganz. **G2** Diese Abbildung zeigt die englische Garde im Tower of London bei der Bewachung des duc d'Orléans. Er trägt keine Rüstung, was ein Hinweis auf die normale Bekleidung der Garde in den ruhigeren Teilen der Normandie sein könnte. Er trägt die rot-weiße nationale Livree. **G3** Dieser Bogenschütze trägt einen 'Sallet'-Helm ohne Gesichtsschutz und Reitstiefel, die unter anderem auch dazu dienten, den Schnee von seinen Füßen fernzuhalten.

H1 Dieser Bogenschütze trägt einen 'Sallet'-Helm mit Visier und ein Kettenhemd unter einem Harnisch. Seine Reitstiefel sind oben umgeschlagen, so daß Platz für seine Beinschienen ist. Er hat eine irdene Wasserflasche bei sich. Seine Hauptwaffe ist nach wie vor der Langbogen, allerdings hat er auch ein gutes Schwert und ein Rundschild bei sich. Auf seinem Rücken trägt er eine Trompete. **H2** John Talbot, Earl von Shrewsbury (1453 gest.) verbrachte drei Jahrzehnte in Frankreich und erhielt für seine Dienste die Grafenwürde. Er trägt einen Wappennock, der das frühere, enganliegende Rüstungshemd ersetzt. **H3** Gegen Ende dieser Ära tauchten in Frankreich erstmals Hellebardenträger in leichter Rüstung auf. Die abgebildete Figur trägt einen 'Sallet'-Helm ohne Gesichtsschutz und ein Kettenhemd unter einem glatten Harnisch im Mailänder Stil, außerdem Kehlstücke und Bauchreifen.

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Avec annotations en français sur les planches en couleur
Mit Aufzeichnungen auf Deutsch über den Farbtafeln

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